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HISTORY OF INDIA

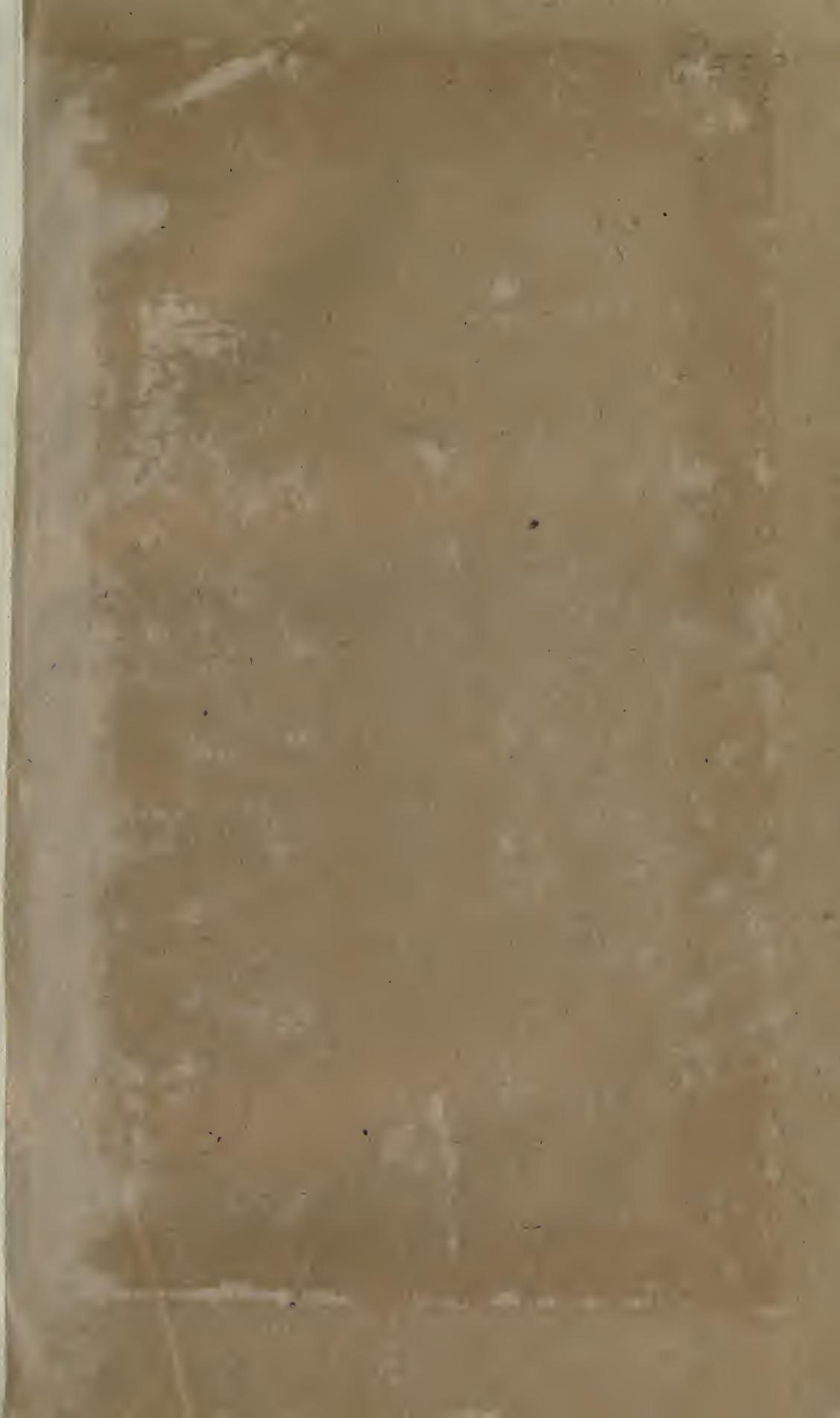
REVISED EDITION

C. F. DE LA FOSSE M.A.

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HISTORY OF INDIA.



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HISTORY OF INDIA

BY

C. F. DE LA FOSSE, M.A., OXON.

INDIAN EDUCATION SERVICE

REVISED EDITION



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To Will
Aldous Huxley

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PREFACE.

THE continued demand for this small history has encouraged the writer to undertake a complete revision of the work. In the present edition the major portion of the Hindu Period has been rewritten and the other periods carefully revised and brought up to date. But the lines upon which the book was originally designed have been scrupulously adhered to. It deals with events only which are deemed to merit consideration in a general survey of the history of the country, and it remains, as far as it is possible to make it, a connected and consecutive account from the earliest times down to the present day.

C. F. DE LA FOSSE.

Oct. 1909.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE history of a country is largely influenced by its climate and physical features. India is no exception to this rule, and perhaps it would not be going too far to assert that the history of no country has been more profoundly affected thereby. Because of its fertility and its wealth in precious minerals and spices, it has from time immemorial tempted invasion ; while its very position, lying as it does to the south of the comparatively barren Central-Asian steppes, the breeding-ground of hardy races of men, has laid it open to constant attack from the north. Although from east to west along its entire northern boundary there stretch the Himalayas, the most stupendous mountain range in the world, wave after wave of invasion has broken through the barrier and flooded the plains below. Long before the dawn of history streams of immigrants poured down the mountain passes, and from the earliest times of which anything is known the tale of invasion has been almost continuous.

Towards the north-east the Himalayas gradually decline into hills that present no insurmountable obstacle to invaders, and from this side there must have been in early times a constant flow of immigration. The Turanians, as the early immigrants from the east are called, were a people akin to the Chinese. In course of time they penetrated far into the country ; for the peoples now dwelling in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and even for some distance down the coast of the Bay of Bengal, betray in their features distinct traces of Turanian origin. But beyond the fact that at some time Turanian people settled in India in large numbers nothing whatever is known of their history.

But while through the north-east barrier there was for many centuries in the long distant past a steadily flowing stream of immigration, history has recorded on the north-west frontier, particularly through the passes to the west of the Indus river, frequent and wide-spreading inundations. India has, indeed, been so continuously invaded from this side that at the present day among the three hundred millions that inhabit the peninsula there are literally hundreds of divisions of its people. It may with truth be said that, while innumerable races are represented, the intermingling has been so great that it has produced no predominant nationality throughout the whole.

The tangle of races in the northern half is, as we might reasonably expect, far greater than in the southern, since it is from the north that invaders have almost always come. But there is another reason why the south has been less frequently overrun than the north. Within the peninsula itself there is a second mountain barrier, far lower than the first it is true, but still presenting a formidable obstacle to invaders. Though the Vindhya Range contains no lofty peaks it consists of a wide and pathless waste of rocks and jungle. So forbidding did its forests once appear that for long ages they served to check the progress of invasions, turning their waves eastward till, their force being spent, they subsided in the Gangetic plain. Therefore, while Hindustan, the country to the north of the Vindhyas has been from age to age the battle-ground of nations, the Deccan, the country to the south, has enjoyed long spells of isolation. The sea too, which in modern times has rendered the Deccan so accessible to maritime nations, was a complete protection from attack on its other two sides by bands of primitive invaders. In consequence the peoples of the south, known collectively as Dravidians, from Dravida the old name of the Tamil country, retain generally to this day certain well-marked characteristics. They are, as a rule, shorter and darker than those of the north, and the languages which they speak are allied to one another and quite distinct from those spoken in Hindustan. Very little is known of their early civilization, but it is certain that many of them had emerged from a state of barbarism long before they made their appearance in history.

Philologists distinguish between the Dravidians and still older races of men living in various parts of the Deccan, such as the Santals, the Gadavas and the Juangs. These primeval peoples speak tongues belonging to a great family of languages, known as Munda, a form of speech which, it is believed, was once used not only all over India proper, but over Further India, the Malay Archipelago and Australia as well. They are black and stunted and some of them are among the lowest types of humanity. But it would not be safe to assume that the most degraded have always been as savage and debased as they are now. It is probable that some are remnants of peoples who had to retreat to the jungle to save themselves from extermination at the hands of stronger races, and it should not be forgotten that they have been for thousands of years outcasts and despised, maintaining a constant struggle for a bare subsistence. The ceaseless hardships of their existence may therefore be largely responsible for bringing them to their present pitch of degradation. But the distinction between Munda and Dravidian is, in the case of several of these early peoples, less marked than in others, and some appear to be blended of both races. All that we can at anyrate confidently assert is that throughout India there are two distinct types, one tall and fair and the other short and dark, and that the latter is the prevailing type in the Deccan. We may therefore safely infer that the short dark peoples represent the earlier inhabitants and that the fair skinned races, of whom the vast majority are to be found in Hindustan, are descendants of later invaders.

BOOK I. THE HINDU PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE VEDIC AGE.

Absence of early historical records.—There is no history of India, in the strict sense of the term, prior to the Muhamnedan conquest. Its earliest inhabitants, known by the common name of non-Aryans to distinguish them from later immigrants called Aryans, were too little civilized in any part of the country to be able to record their history, and the Hindus, the peoples sprung from the union of the Aryan with non-Aryan races, seem never to have cared at all for posthumous fame. But from the sacred literature of the Hindus, portions of which relate to a time not later than 2000 years before the birth of Christ, can be pieced together a more connected story of human progress than has yet been compiled from the records of any other ancient nation. From it can be constructed a wonderfully complete account of the gradual progress of their civilization and the development of their religion; and from it something at the same time may be learnt of the evolution of society in early times. No story is more interesting, or from a historical point of view more important, than that which can be gathered from their ancient records.

Aryan migration.—The materials for the earliest accounts are supplied by the hymns of the Rig Veda. This is the oldest work of the Hindus, and some of the hymns to the gods which it contains date back to a time not less than four thousand years ago. From it we learn

that the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus came as a conquering race from the north down into India ; and by comparing the language of the hymns with other languages, both ancient and modern, it has been proved beyond a doubt, that the men who composed those hymns belonged to a branch of a great race which conquered, and then combined with, the primitive peoples of Europe and Western Asia, forming in the course of time many distinct nationalities. The Aryan race may broadly speaking be divided into two branches, the European, from which sprang the Celts, Teutons, Slavs, Latins, and Greeks, and the Asiatic, represented by the Iranians or Persians, and the Indo-Aryans or Hindus. The Asiatic branch seems to have remained united longer than the European branch, so that the Indo-Aryan was the last offshoot to seek a new home.

Aryan civilization.—The immigration of the Aryans into India must have commenced about fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ. Yet even in that early time the Aryans had made some considerable advance in civilization. They had already settled to peaceful pursuits, and while some families cultivated the land and practised agriculture, others wandered about with their flocks and herds to different pasture lands, leading what is called a nomad life. Not only had they domesticated cattle, sheep, goats, and dogs, but horses had also been subjugated to their use. But of all the animals which they kept, the cow was the one to which they attached most importance and of which every house-holder desired to possess a herd. Though the Aryan immigrants did not, like their Hindu descendants, regard it with peculiar reverence as a sacred animal, the cow played so important a part in their daily lives that it may be said to have been, even then, the characteristic animal of the race. But the Aryans were not a merely pastoral people, for they had made some progress in industry, could weave and spin, build houses, and make boats and chariots. Gold and silver were not unknown to them, and in their wars they made use of swords and spears as well as bows and arrows. Their system of Government was patriarchal, that is, the family and not the tribe was the unit of society ; though they had learnt to unite for

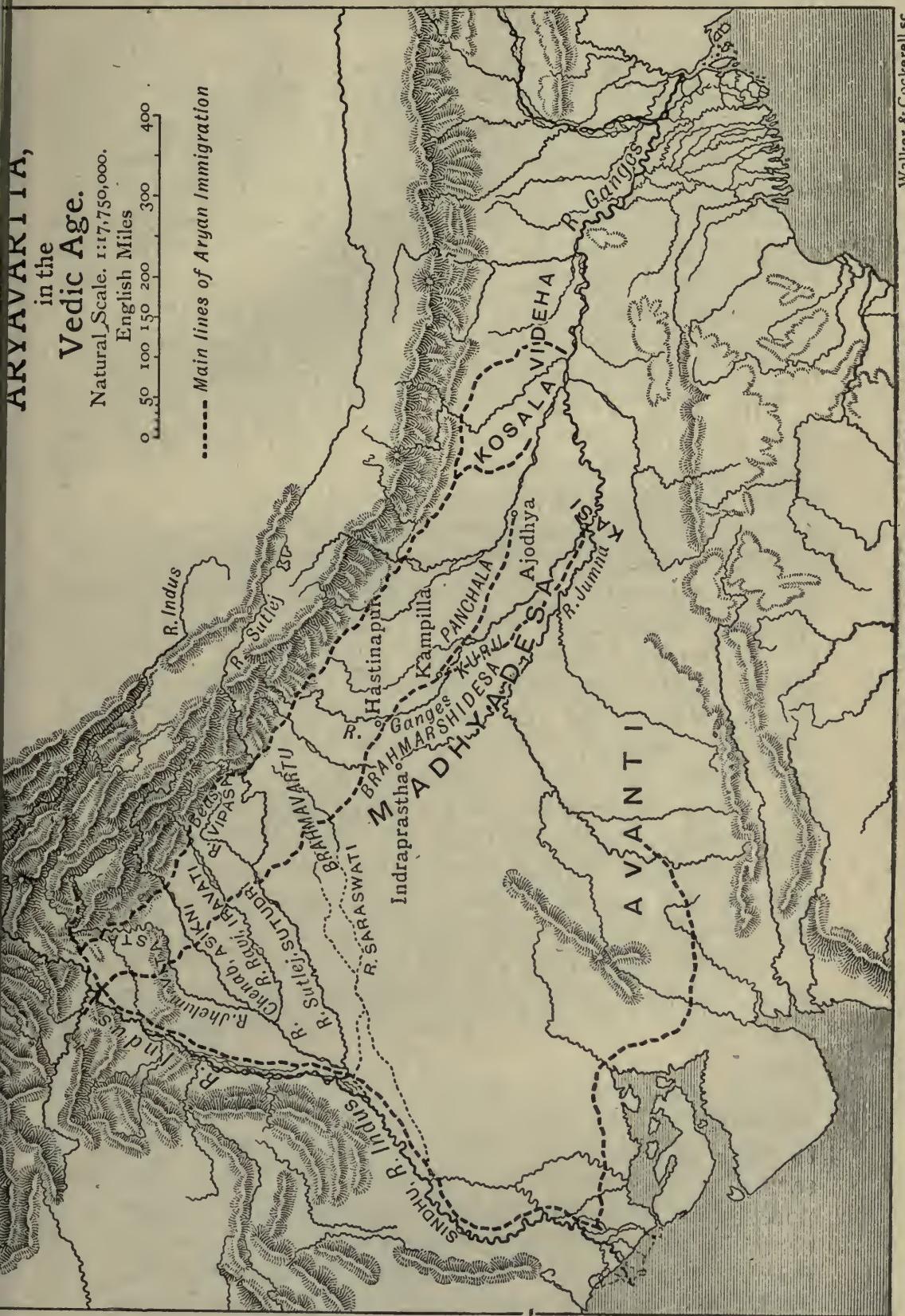
ARYAVARIA,

in the
Vedic Age.

Natural Scale. 1:17,750,000.
English Miles

0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400

• Main lines of Aryan Immigration



purposes of mutual protection under chiefs and leaders distinguished for prowess in battle. The father as the head of the family was its ruler and its priest combined. Their religion consisted in the worship of what was awe-inspiring, or what struck them as specially beautiful or beneficial in nature. They prayed to the sun and the clouds, fire and thunder, the dawn and the bright sky ; not looking upon them as objects of terror in which lurked malignant powers, but as instinct with bright and friendly spirits, worthy to receive their hymns of praise and ready to listen to their prayers for help and protection.

The Rig Veda.—Such were the Aryans during the time when they were working their way southward into India. At the time of which we speak the Rig Veda, which is our only source of information concerning them, had not yet been compiled, though certain of its earlier hymns were already in existence. The others from time to time were being composed during a period which lasted, roughly speaking, from 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C. After the close of this period, known as the Vedic Period, the hymns were collected together, arranged, and compiled ; but as writing was as yet unknown, the whole had to be committed to memory. At first they were handed down in the families of their composers orally from father to son, but as time went on a special class of priests arose whose duty it was to learn and recite the sacred texts. It is difficult, indeed impossible, to attempt now to arrange the hymns in their chronological order ; but still we are able to get from them a good deal of historical information regarding the changing manners and customs of the Aryans, and their struggles with the aboriginal inhabitants of Northern India for the possession of the land.

The Rig Veda is divided by its compilers into ten *Mandulas* or books, and, with the exception of the first and the last two, these are each ascribed to different *Rishis*, or sacred composers. The last book must have been composed considerably later than the others, for it differs from them in certain important particulars : the ideas are less primitive, it reflects a more advanced stage of society, and deals with a more complicated ritual. It is necessary to

bear this in mind, otherwise it may give us wrong impressions of Vedic society and of the thoughts and feelings of the early Aryan conquerors of Upper India.

Struggle with non-Aryans.—We can gather a tolerably clear idea of what was the state of North-Western India at the time of the Aryan invasion from the allusions in the hymns of the Rig Veda to the native races with whom the Aryans came in contact. They found the country peopled by a dark-skinned race, in varying stages of civilization, who worshipped demons or evil spirits. The first bands of Aryans regarded them all with the liveliest abhorrence. Their colour, their shortness of stature, their flat noses, their gloomy and sometimes frightful superstitions, and their strange habits, excited the utmost repugnance in the fair-skinned invaders. They looked upon them without distinction as unclean wretches whom it was a virtue to exterminate.

At first when the invaders were few their advance must have been slow, and the resistance they met with stubborn. Even when they had firmly established themselves across the Indus, and had cleared tracts of country and settled down to the peaceful pursuits of husbandry, the aborigines hung about in the dense jungle on the outskirts of their colonies, and harassed the Aryan settlers. But the dark inhabitants of the land, however brave and cunning, could not effectually stay the march of the stronger and more hardy race, and they had to fall back or be exterminated. Gradually the Aryans extended their colonies over the Punjab, from the banks of the Indus to the Saraswati, a river that has now dried up, but which then flowed along the eastern boundary of the Punjab and through the deserts of Rajputana.

As time wore on, and the fear of reprisals on the part of the aborigines whom they had dispossessed diminished, the Aryans began to look more tolerantly upon them. Not all the tribes with whom they came in contact were equally uncivilized, for in the Rig Veda there are references to non-Aryan chiefs who possessed forts and castles. In point of civilization some of the peoples whom they conquered were probably even superior to the Aryans. For such as these the feeling of repugnance would not be quite so strong ; and,

later, in the quarrels between Aryan tribes over coveted strips of territory, aboriginal chiefs are mentioned as lending their powerful aid to one side or the other.

Colonization.—The Vedic period was a time of continuous struggle. It was necessary that every man should be a warrior as well as a husbandman. Not only did the Aryans have to guard their villages, their cultivated fields and their cattle from the attacks of bands of marauding aborigines, but, as they grew more numerous, they fought among themselves, and tribe disputed with tribe for the possession of coveted strips of country. Kingdoms at length sprang into existence, and chiefs ruled over territories which they had conquered from their neighbours and added to their own tribal settlements.

Centuries must have passed while the Aryans were bringing the whole of the Punjab under their power and influence. Fresh streams of immigrants from time to time must have flowed from Afghanistan down the passes into India, merging with the early settlers or passing on to new tracts of country. Bands worked their way down the Indus, colonizing Sindh and Guzerat, and turning north-eastward found their way into Malwa. Others again settled in Kashmir, of whom some thence marched along the foot of the Himalayas into the United Provinces and beyond into Behar. Before the end of the period dealt with by the hymns of the Rig Veda the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges had been reached by exploring bands of Aryans. Here they found a still more fertile country awaiting conquest, and the tide of civilization therefore swept eastward.

Occupations.—Before their coming into India we have seen that some of the Aryan families had already begun to practise agriculture. The fertility of the Indian soil must have given a new stimulus to cultivation; and in the Rig Veda we find that agriculture became the main occupation of the people, though they still kept large herds of cattle and drove them out to pasture. Wheat and barley were the chief articles of their diet, but they did not disdain the use of animal food, and there are frequent allusions in the hymns to the killing of cattle and to the cooking of their flesh for human consumption. They even made use of an

intoxicant, indulging freely in a fermented liquor made from the juice of a plant called Soma. In one of the hymns the process of preparing the juice is described as a sacred rite: more than this, Soma was even deified, and one whole book of the Rig Veda is dedicated to it. Their constant wars with the aborigines and with each other naturally turned their attention to the improvement of weapons and the construction of shields and protective armour. They were thus led to acquiring considerable skill in metal work; and we hear of their putting it to other than warlike uses, for mention is made of metal ornaments, of golden crowns, necklaces, bracelets, and anklets.

Absence of caste, and freedom of women.— While the Aryans were colonizing the Punjab, there are two points concerning their social life of which it is specially important to take note: the one is the absence of caste distinctions, and the other is the social condition of women. There is no mention of such a system as caste in the Rig Veda, except in the tenth book, which, as has already been pointed out, was composed in a later age. Nor is there even a trace of the existence of hereditary divisions of the community corresponding in any way to it. There were indeed men and families famous for their skill in the composition of hymns, but the Rishis, as they were called, had no special privileges. Every man from the highest to the lowest was a warrior and a husbandman. There is therefore both negative and positive evidence that caste restrictions did not then exist. The very word 'varna,' which came to denote caste, meant only colour at first, and was employed to distinguish the fair Aryan from the dark-skinned aborigines. Regarding the position of women, what better evidence could there be of the freedom and respect they enjoyed, than that some of the sacred hymns of the Rig Veda were composed by them, and that they were considered worthy to take part with their husbands in the performance of the domestic sacrificial rites, to sing the holy hymns and tend the sacred fire kept burning on the hearth? Women had not yet been reduced to a position of complete subjection to the male members of their family, cut off from all intercourse with the outside world and

deprived of liberty ; for there is ample evidence in the hymns that the ' purdah ' system did not then exist.

Religion.—We have already seen that the Aryans at the time of their first coming into India worshipped the powers of nature. It will be necessary now to say a few words concerning the gradual progress of religious thought during the Vedic age. As time went on, there is no doubt that among the foremost thinkers of the race the belief was gradually gaining ground that all these phenomena of nature, which they worshipped separately, were after all but manifestations of the power of One Being, who had created all things and was sustaining all things. This lofty conception, however vaguely entertained, marks a great advance in the history of human progress. Those upon whom it had begun to dawn were on the threshold of great discoveries in the realms of thought, and accordingly we find that even in that early time the Aryans had begun to speculate profoundly concerning the mysteries of creation and of life and death. A change was coming over the race, and the more thoughtful among them, confined probably to a few families, eminent for their knowledge of religion and their proficiency in the performance of its rites, were forming themselves into a class apart from the community. In brief, a priestly aristocracy, reverenced for its purity and intellectual superiority, was gradually springing up in different localities.

Compilation of three more Vedas.—The Aryans were from the first a deeply religious people, setting great store by the due performance of rites and ceremonies, and as their civilization developed their religion also grew more complicated, and the ritual connected with it more exacting and intricate. This led in course of time to the compilation of three more Vedas, for special religious purposes ; the Sama Veda, containing a selection of hymns, the majority of which are to be found also in the Rig Veda, intended to be chanted by priests on particular occasions ; the Yajur Veda, containing formulas to accompany sacrificial ceremonials ; and the Atharva Veda, containing magic incantations and prayers for success in the various affairs of life and charms to ward off evil. The last named deals with a later period of development, and it is probable

that the religion of the aborigines had by then gained a partial recognition among certain Aryan tribes; for it is impossible not to suspect that many local superstitions found their way into this latest of the Vedas. It is historically important as exhibiting a profound change coming over the Indo-Aryan character. The bright and cheerful view of life reflected in the Rig Veda has in it begun to give place to a less hopeful outlook and a quiet resignation to destiny.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF THE BRAHMANAS.

The Brahmanas.—But it is not from these new *Vedas* any more than from the Rig Veda that we can derive the history of Aryan colonization beyond the Punjab. For this we must turn to another class of composition which sprang up in connection with the Vedas. In course of time the language of the hymns grew antiquated, and difficulties arose in regard to their meaning or the purposes for which they had been composed. Commentaries in prose were therefore added to explain them, to show what was the origin of a hymn and the occasion of its use, besides setting forth the ritual connected with it. These prose works are called the Brahmanas and came in time to be looked upon as no less sacred than the hymns themselves. The Brahmanas were composed during the period with which we shall now deal. Mixed up with dry descriptions of rites and ceremonies, which have long since lost their significance, are passages which enable us to piece together a fairly connected account of the period of expansion which followed the subjugation of the Punjab.

The kingdoms of the Doab.—From the Brahmanas we learn that in course of time two kingdoms arose in the country between the Ganges and the Jumna. One in the neighbourhood of the modern Delhi, of which Indraprastha was the capital, was founded by a tribe called the Kurus,

and another further eastward, with its chief cities at Kanauj and Kampilla, on the northern bank of the Ganges, was called the kingdom of the Panchâlas. These two colonies, planted in a more fertile soil, gradually rose in power and glory till they surpassed the more ancient kingdoms in the North-West.

Change of sentiment towards non-Aryans.—As the Aryans migrated eastward, they came in contact with countless hordes of aborigines in various stages of civilization whom they could not have swept away even if they would. There are passages in the Rig Veda which can bear no other interpretation than that in the wars which Aryan bands waged against each other they did not always disdain the assistance of powerful non-Aryan chiefs. Political alliances were sometimes made, it would seem, with those who were willing to adopt the Aryan social and religious systems. It is possible that in this manner the colonization of the lands eastward of the Five Rivers was accomplished as much by peaceful means as by fighting with and attempting to drive out the natives. One of the most celebrated of the Rishis, Vishvamitra, actually figures in the Rig Veda as the bard of a powerful non-Aryan tribe, the Bharatas; and it would appear that native converts were not infrequently received into the Aryan community on equal terms with true-born Aryans, before the caste system had begun to crystallize. It is therefore not difficult to understand how by the intermingling of the two races non-Aryan beliefs and practices began to creep into the Aryan worship. In time the Aryan religion was greatly changed thereby. Though Aryan influence remained predominant, in the process of Aryanizing the native races the faiths and religious practices of the invaders underwent at length an almost complete transformation.

Reaction against admission of native races to the Aryan community.—Against this policy of conciliating the natives there was always arrayed a strong party among the Aryans themselves. In the Rig Veda a powerful tribe, called the Tritsu, living in the Punjab, is mentioned as the champion of orthodoxy and purity of blood, and they are represented as having gained a decisive victory over a combination of Aryan and non-Aryan tribes,

which favoured the amalgamation of the two races. The legend of the fight between them may be entirely mythical, but it is clear from subsequent history that the party represented by the Tritsu eventually gained the upper hand. The origin of caste is lost in a mist of obscurity, but whatever may have been the other causes of its origin and development, there need be no doubt that racial antipathy played at one time an important part in the formation of the system. Speaking generally, the admission of non-Aryans into the Aryan social system was, when caste distinctions arose, granted only on their being willing to accept a position of inferiority in the community.

Gradual absorption of non-Aryans.—Thus in time there grew up a class in the Aryan community engaged in servile toil and occupying a humble and subordinate position to the men of pure descent. When the supply was limited, the class was too valuable to be maltreated ; but when it became numerous, as it must soon have done, it came to be looked upon as something vile and worthless, which it was necessary to suppress by every possible means ; and many invidious distinctions were invented to differentiate the man of pure descent from the non-Aryan and the man of mixed parentage. Such as were not thought to be of pure Aryan blood were prevented from participating in the sacred rites, and were compelled to perform the meanest and most servile duties. They were taught that they had been created for servitude and to do such work as was degrading to true-born Aryans. Their position was not so utterly distasteful to them as might be supposed, for by accepting it they could attach themselves to the all-conquering Aryans, and in return were afforded their powerful protection. They felt pride in being associated, though in a humble capacity, with those who were recognized as possessing intellectual and spiritual superiority. It was an honour to be taken within the pale of Hinduism, as the transformed religion of the Aryan immigrants may now be called to distinguish it from the earlier faith ; for however degraded might be a man's position therein, he was at any rate vastly superior in the social scale to the unregenerate demon-worshipper of the jungle. Thus the mass of the indigenous inhabitants came in time to be absorbed into the Aryan social system.

But here and there in spots remote from the track of civilization isolated remnants of the aborigines managed to preserve unmolested their ancient habits and beliefs. To this day in India there are tribes of non-Aryans who have never wholly come under the Aryan influence. Such are the Bhils of the Vindhya hills, the Gonds of the Central Provinces, and the Santals of the Raj-mahal hills.

Origin of caste.—The first distinction therefore that arose in the Aryan community was between the pure Aryan and the non-Aryan, in which latter class were included also the men of mixed descent. The distinction was at first mainly ethnological. But as the settlements grew and expanded into kingdoms, gradually class distinctions arose among the Aryans themselves. Two privileged classes sprang up among them, the sacerdotal and the military, denoting at first merely professional distinctions. Society, as it grew more complex, required a division of labour : that some of its members should perform the religious rites, some should fight its battles, some should till its lands and some should do menial services. As among the ancient Egyptians and the Israelites, so amongst the ancient Indians professions tended to become hereditary, and were at last monopolised by particular classes of the community. Thus arose the Brahmans, the priesthood, formed of those who showed a special aptitude for the performance of rites and sacrifices ; the Kshattriyas, a military aristocracy formed of those belonging to kingly and noble families, whose ancestors had led the Aryan hosts to battle against the aborigines ; the Vaisyas, the mass of the people engaged in ordinary occupations, particularly in agriculture ; and the Sudras, composed of non-Aryans and those of mixed descent, who were the slaves and handicraftsmen of the community.

The Brahmans.—Mention has already been made on page 8 of the growth of a priestly aristocracy at the close of the Vedic period. In the age of expansion which followed, when rites were multiplied and sacrifices became more complicated, the priests, who alone knew how to perform them, came to be looked upon with ever-increasing reverence and respect. The sanctity of their lives, and the intellectual and spiritual superiority which they arrogated to themselves, set them apart from the rest of the

community. At length when the priestly office was recognized as an hereditary one and the priestly families came to be regarded as sacred, almost divine honours were paid to the Brahman.

The Kshattriyas.—The Kshattriyas were at first merely the military leaders of the Aryans against the aborigines, but when the tribal was superseded by the kingly form of government, the distinction between the Kshattriya and the people whom his ancestors had led to battle grew more and more marked, so that it was felt to be unbefitting for one of the Kshattriya race to marry into any other class but his own. Thus at last the priests and the warriors were separated out from the people; and to preserve the purity of their descent, they were absolutely forbidden to intermarry with any other class. The natural result of such a system was, that while the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas grew more haughty and exclusive, the people with no scope for social ambition grew less independent and less able to resist the imposition of debasing distinctions.

The Vaisyas and Sudras.—The Vaisyas, the body of the Aryan people, were during the period of the colonization of the Gangetic plain, one undivided caste, and shared with Brahmans and Kshattriyas the rites and privileges of the Aryan race. The Sudras, on the other hand, were excluded from these by the strictest rules. There was therefore still the main distinction between Aryan and non-Aryan; and the conquerors, though subdivided by caste, still felt themselves to be one nation and one race. The Brahman, the Kshattriya, and the Vaisya had the Vedic religion in common, while the Sudra was rigorously kept out from all participation in its rites and sacrifices.

Advance in civilization.—During the period of the Brahmans the vigour of the early settlers in the Punjab seems to have declined, and the new kingdoms growing up between the Jumna and the Ganges became the centres of Aryan civilization and culture. The conquerors of the Punjab, when not engaged in fighting with the dark-skinned aborigines, had been content to be cultivators, to plough their lands and tend their herds. But the colonists who settled in the Doab, as the country between the

Ganges and the Jumna is called, were a more highly civilized race. Learning and the arts flourished among them, and in their hands the old simple faith developed into a gorgeous religion, adorned with stately rites and ceremonies and tended by multitudes of priests. The whole machinery of a system of state government was elaborated by them. Kings maintained armies, collected taxes and appointed officers to administer justice and look after the affairs of state. The people lived in towns and villages following the pursuits of agriculture and industry, and gradually developing those social customs which have been in all subsequent ages so marked a feature of Indian life.

The Mahabharata.—But the old warlike spirit was still strong within the race. While the struggles with the aborigines grew less and less severe, their struggles with each other for coveted strips of country grew more bitter and intense. In the earlier Brahmanas the Kurus and Panchâlas are mentioned as living side by side on the friendliest terms, equally prosperous and powerful. But in the later Brahmanas there are allusions to a fierce internecine war. The great Hindu epic, the Mahabharata, composed in a later age out of material some of which may be very ancient, celebrates the story of this conflict. Though quite unreliable from a historical point of view, this much at anyrate in it stands out as fact: that there was a great war in the Doab between the Kurus and the Panchâlas for the possession of a particular strip of country, and that many kings and princes joined one side or the other. The picture that it paints of the manners and customs of those times makes it plain that while Aryan civilization had progressed, the race had lost nothing of the vindictiveness and passion for slaughter which had characterized its first encounters with the aborigines.

The rise to power of three new kingdoms.—As soon as the Doab had been conquered, bands of Aryans began to explore the country further east. A powerful tribe, called the Kosalas, established a kingdom in Oudh. Another, called the Kashis, seized upon the country round about Benares, and a third known as the Videhas penetrated into Behar. It is curious to note how each new kingdom

growing up on freshly conquered ground, surpassed in power and civilization the older kingdoms lying to the westward. Those who were in the van of Aryan colonization, were also the most progressive in civilization.

The Ramayana.—The Ramayana, the other great Hindu epic, celebrates the exploits of a king of the Kosalas named Rama, who reigned at a place called Ajodhya. Unfortunately, like the Mahabharata, it is almost valueless as history. But though it does not relate the events of any age, it throws much light upon the manners and the social condition of this tribe of Aryans dwelling on the outskirts of civilization. Rama, the hero of the epic, may be a wholly mythical person, but in its account of the society and religious customs of the Kosalas we can discern a change coming over the more advanced portion of the Aryan race. We may note along with more polished and refined manners the ascendancy gained by the priests over the rest of the community. The people of whom it tells are less vigorous than those of the Mahabharata, and have resigned themselves more completely to priestly domination in the affairs of state and in the rules which regulate their private lives. The old Vedic faith has been buried beneath a mass of rites and ceremonies ; and religion, which always played so important a part in the daily life of the Indo-Aryans, has become the monopoly of priests. Dutiful and unquestioning obedience is rendered to their dictates by high and low alike.

Videha.—In the kingdom of the Videhas, however, lying to the east of Kosala, the Brahmans do not appear to have attained to such a complete mastery as in Kosala. Their pre-eminence in social and religious matters did not pass unquestioned, and learned Kshattriyas disputed the supremacy with them. The Videhas were a more independent people, with political institutions which gave to them a share in the government of their country. Janaka, their most famous king, whose capital was at a place called Mithila in Tirhoot, is a different stamp of man to Rama, and though he may be no less mythical, yet he typifies a reaction which must have taken place in this kingdom against religious pedantry and dogmatism.

Intellectual activity.—Since at the time of which we

are now speaking the political amalgamation of the native races with the dominant Aryan race was completed in the lands which the Aryans had colonized, the peoples of whom these kingdoms were composed may now be called collectively Hindus—followers of the Hindu religion—instead of being distinguished as hitherto by the terms Aryan and non-Aryan. The Hindus who dwelt along the banks of the Ganges and its tributaries were a very different people from the fierce warriors who had poured down from the north into the Punjab. They had attained by this time to a degree of culture and refinement remarkable in those early times. The Brahmans were naturally in the forefront where development of mind and the increase of knowledge were concerned. They taught that learning was the highest and noblest possession of man, and established throughout the country schools of philosophy, theology and law. But it would be a mistake to suppose that learning was general, for it was only the leisured classes which could indulge in it. While the Brahmans and certain of the Kshattriyas spent their lives in acquiring it, the mass of the people, engaged in unremitting labour, remained steeped in ignorance and a prey to superstition.

Brahman learning.—The close study of the Vedas, handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation in a language ever growing more obsolete, gave to the Brahmans in time an inherited power of mind, and raised them as a class immeasurably above the intellectual level of the rest of the community. The means of preserving unimpaired the text of their sacred compositions early engrossed their attention, and led them to an exhaustive examination of the structure of the language. They discovered not merely in this way for themselves the science of grammar, but carried it to an extraordinary degree of accuracy. The solution of difficulties of language and the interpretation of obscure passages in the hymns developed in them to a remarkable extent the qualities of ingenuity and subtlety. But their studies were not confined to the sacred texts alone, and they had energy to spare for scientific research. In the domain of natural philosophy the study of the stars seems first to have attracted their attention. The elements of astronomy were laid

down even before the Rig Veda was compiled. In the age which followed considerable progress was made in it; because it was found that without a knowledge of astronomy sacrificial rites could not be regulated. The time for commencing or ending them could not be determined without a knowledge of the sun's annual course, and in some cases of the constellations also. A knowledge of the calendar, in fact, came to be an indispensable part of a priest's education. Logic and mathematics were also subjects of study and research among them, though they had not yet attained to any remarkable degree of proficiency in them. Their chief delight, however, from the earliest times was in philosophy. Metaphysical speculation was to them an absorbing passion. The natural bent of their minds seems to have been towards it, and with such ardour did they pursue it, that they overlooked in favour of it subjects of more practical utility. From a too engrossing attention to it they acquired an abstracted and impractical habit of mind, to which in great measure is no doubt due their contempt of history, their backwardness in the cultivation of the æsthetic faculties and their neglect of political science.

Sanskrit a secret language.—But it must not be supposed that all the Brahman caste reached the same high intellectual level. Not a tithe of them probably at any time took part in the vigorous mental development and active inquiring spirit. The majority remained on a much lower plane and lived the life of the people, sharing with them their thoughts and beliefs. Sanskrit, in which the Vedic hymns and the Brahmanas were composed, though it had developed into a language of surpassing force and beauty, was no longer a living one. To the general mass of the people it was an unknown tongue. It had long since become a secret language of the priests; and, while it served them as an almost perfect medium for the expression of their thoughts, it served also to create an air of mystery around them and to confine the knowledge of the scriptures and of Brahman learning within the circle of their order.

Change in character of Indo-Aryan race.—Allusion has already been made to a profound change which had begun to come over the Indo-Aryan race towards the

end of the Vedic period. With the shifting of the centre of civilization from the Punjab to the Gangetic plain their character became transformed. From a hopeful and vigorous people they changed into a sad and mystical one. They gradually outgrew their simple worship of the deified powers of nature, and the sacrifice and all that it symbolized became of supreme importance. The earlier Brahmanas are wholly taken up with descriptions of sacrificial ceremonies, explanations of their hidden meanings, accounts of their origin and legends to prove their efficacy. This change was no doubt in great part due to the complete ascendancy gained by the priests in religious matters. The early Aryans, who sacrificed and prayed to their bright gods in their own homes, were content with a simple form of worship; but the Hindus of the Gangetic plain, by the aid of priestcraft, so overlaid the old faiths and beliefs of their forefathers with complicated ritual, that the gods were forgotten in the rites designed to celebrate them. In their superstitious veneration for forms and ceremonies they lost the spirit of the old Vedic religion. Yet they passionately clung to their ancient Vedas, regarding them still as the source of all religious inspiration and seeking with infinite labour and ingenuity to find in them authority for every act of worship and for every religious dogma which they enjoined.

Pessimistic views of life.—In the later Brahmanas the note of sadness becomes more strongly marked. Theosophic and religious speculations are alone regarded as of the highest import. But there is no return to the simple faith of Vedic times; on the contrary, in place of the joyous religion of their ancestors, the Hindus have become impressed with a deep conviction of the misery of all earthly existence. A belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis, the passage of the spirit at death into another living body, whether of a brute or of a human being, has become general, and all that man is taught to hope for is reabsorption into the universal All-in-One. Whence came this wonderful change? The enervating climate of the Gangetic plain, and the barrenness of religious life to which their slavish devotion to forms and ceremonies had brought them contributed no doubt towards it, but are not in themselves sufficient wholly to account for it.

Non-Aryan influences.—As they spread, no doubt, the Aryan colonists came more and more under non-Aryan influence, and were infected with gloomy aboriginal beliefs. The further they migrated from their old homes, the more were they subjected to this influence and the more were their civilization, their religion and even their racial type liable to be modified thereby. There would always be the tendency for the lower strata of Aryan society to become merged in the non-Aryan portion of the community ; and the non-Aryan, while adopting the social customs and religious beliefs of the Aryan, would not be able to divest himself wholly of his own. It is a common belief all over the world among primitive peoples that disease is due to the work of malignant spirits. In a land so much ravaged by the forms of disease peculiar to tropical countries as India, it is natural that the belief in local spirits of a malignant disposition should have been common among its early inhabitants. When the Aryans came amongst the natives they found them haunted by the dread of demons supposed to be ever on the watch to injure those who neglected to propitiate them. To ward off their influence strange and often gruesome rites were devised. It is easy to understand how in this way those who advanced to settlements far removed from the strongholds of Aryan civilization came to be infected by the prevailing demon worship. While they could not fail to perceive how much less than themselves the natives who propitiated the local spirits were ravaged by disease, they were not likely to perceive that it was merely because the indigenous people had gained a greater immunity by acclimatization and by adaptation to a jungle life. It must often have seemed to them that the natives escaped because they took pains to ward off the anger of the fierce spirits who appeared to have the power, locally at any rate, to afflict mankind. We need not doubt too that the priests of the old gods, who are spoken of in the Rig Veda as being skilled in the arts of spells and incantations, continued, in spite of the spread of the Aryan faith, to exercise a powerful influence, more particularly in times of drought, flood or sickness. Thus into the pure Aryan faith crept on all sides indigenous superstitions and strange forms and ceremonies, varying

according to the ancient beliefs of different localities. There is also good reason for thinking that in the countries of Kosala, Kashi and Videha the Aryans came in contact with settled communities living under well organized systems of government, wealthy and as highly civilized as themselves ; and that the conquerors, mingling and even uniting with the conquered peoples, adopted as time wore on many of their customs and beliefs.

Transformation of national character.—But whatever were the causes of the change, the Hindus of the Middle Land towards the close of the Brahmana period had scarcely any characteristics left in common with their hardy Aryan ancestors of early Vedic times. Instead of a vigorous people rejoicing in their health and strength, we find a people prone to asceticism and lonely meditation. The *Aranyakas*, or Forest-treatises for the meditation of hermits, and the *Upanishads*, or hidden doctrines regarding the destiny of the soul and the nature of the Supreme Being, to which the speculations of the Brahmanas gave rise, reflect a national character transformed almost beyond recognition.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUTRA PERIOD.

Aryavarta.—We have seen the Aryan invaders first conquering bit by bit the land between the Indus and the Saraswati, next passing on to the colonization of Brahmarshidesa, the land of the Sacred Singers between the Saraswati and the Ganges, then spreading over Madhyadesa, the Middle Land, as far as Oudh, and finally expanding over the whole of Northern India to Behar on the east and the Vindhya hills in the south. To all this vast tract of country they gave the name of Aryavarta, the land of the Aryans, to distinguish it from Mlechha-desa, the land of the unclean, which lay beyond. The period occupied in annexing and colonizing successively the different parts of

it must, roughly speaking, have been a thousand years, and lasted till about 1000 B.C.

Mlechcha-desa.—The era which now opens shows us Aryan civilization spreading to the south. Bands of Aryans had before this made expeditions beyond the Vindhya Hills, and holy men had penetrated into the jungles of Central India in search of solitudes in which to practise religious meditation. A few scattered settlements had already begun to spring up; but the country beyond Aryavarta was still practically an unknown land. The conquest of Aryavarta had meant the spreading of the Aryan race over Northern India, but the colonization of the country which lay to the south meant the gradual Hinduising of the tribes that peopled the Peninsula. It was in effect a social rather than an ethnical revolution. The aborigines were not hunted down and slaughtered wholesale, nor even dispossessed of the land, but, coming under the influence of a stronger race, they learned to adopt its civilization and religion.

Dravidian civilization.—The Dravidians, as the indigenous inhabitants of Central and Southern India are, for convenience, often called, were made up of many races, and while some were still in the savage state, others, and especially those in the extreme south, had already emerged from a state of barbarism. The Aryan settlers in the jungles of Central India were no doubt aided in the work of clearing the fertile valleys by bodies of aborigines who migrated from their forest homes, and eventually lost their identity by becoming merged in the Aryan social system. But as the Aryans penetrated further south they came in contact with peoples not less civilized than themselves, living in towns with settled forms of government. Here, as in the eastern portions of Aryavarta, a conflict of civilizations took place, and though the Aryan was the stronger and ultimately prevailed, the Dravidian did not succumb without leaving strong traces of its existence behind it. Thus by degrees the whole of India south of the Vindhya Hills came under Aryan influence.

In the mixed race that arose from the union of Aryan with Dravidian the preponderating element was naturally the latter; in some parts, perhaps, the population remained pure Dravidian, and there were no other traces of the

Aryan but the adoption of his civilization and religion. The mass of the people continued to use their own tongue then, as they still do, in Southern India. Indeed, the Tamils, the most important among them, possess a noble literature, some of it of great antiquity, that owes nothing whatever to Sanskrit. But the Hinduising of the Peninsula has never been quite completed, and here and there a few small and scattered tribes far removed from civilization still remain in the enjoyment of their primitive habits and beliefs.

Spread of Aryan civilization over the Deccan.—The Aryanising of the whole Peninsula must have taken many centuries. But by the fourth century B.C. the work had been practically finished, and Ceylon too had been brought under Hindu influence. Just as in Aryavarta, so in the Deccan, powerful states, organised after the Aryan pattern, arose, or grew out of existing Dravidian principalities. The kingdoms of the Cholas on the east coast, the Cheras on the west, and the Pandyas in the extreme south, long remained famous in Southern India, but of their earlier history little or nothing is known.

The Sutras.—The period during which the Brahmanas were composed lasted, roughly speaking, down to the fifth century B.C. A reaction at length set in against the elaborate and pedantic style which had characterised it. Abridgment was felt to be necessary ; for the task of committing to memory the sacred texts with their interminable descriptions of ceremonials and sacrifices, became too great a burden even for the highly trained minds of the Brahmins. Treatises therefore were compiled which contained in a condensed form the learning, the science and the religious teachings of the Brahmanas. The Sutra, as the new style of composition was called, was as brief as the Brahmana had been verbose. It sought by means of aphorisms to compress as much meaning as possible into the fewest words, and thus frequently sacrificed perspicuity to brevity.

It is important to notice one great distinction which was made between the Sutras and the works which had preceded them. The Vedas and the Brahmanas were looked upon as sacred and eternal and as having divine authority,

but the Sutras were never held to be other than the work of man.

The different sacred schools of the Brahmans throughout the length and breadth of India turned to this style of composition, so that there grew up a vast body of Sutras, some dealing with the details of Vedic sacrifices and religious ceremonials, some treating of manners and customs and others setting forth domestic rites and duties. The most important from a historical point of view are the Dharma Sutras. These ancient treatises on law and morality have been the material out of which the codes, erroneously supposed to have been the inventions of later Hindu legislators, such, for instance, as the Code of Manu, have been compiled.

Progress of Learning.—During the Sutra period the Hindus made considerable progress in the arts and sciences, and particularly in their knowledge of philosophy, grammar and philology. One of the most famous names connected with the age is that of Panini, the grammarian, whose home was somewhere in the Punjab. His Sanskrit grammar in the form of aphorisms, has ever since remained the standard authority and the type of a scientific treatise on this subject. But this period is chiefly remarkable for the systems of mental philosophy which were developed during it. This is not the place to enter into descriptions of the different schools of philosophy which arose, but it is necessary for the sake of the period which follows to say a few words about one of them.

The Sankhya System of Philosophy.—One of the first attempts to give a reasoned answer to the questions about the origin of things and the destiny of man was made by Kapila, who lived probably not later than the seventh century B.C. The Sankhya system which he founded was like all other systems of Hindu Philosophy, derived from the teachings of the Upanishads. His object was to help mankind to escape from the life of suffering and pain which is the lot of all living things. He taught that this end can be gained only by the soul attaining to perfect knowledge. By knowing itself it will be freed from the body, and therefore from pain and misery. Vedic rites are useless for this purpose, and he rejects them altogether. The historical importance of Kapila's system

is that it is an open revolt against Vedic rites and sacrifices. In the age which followed, its essential doctrines were popularised by a great reformer who made it the basis of his teaching. In the hands of Buddha it blossomed into a religion destined to exercise the profoundest influence on the history of mankind.

Triumph of the Brahman caste.—The spread of Hinduism over the length and breadth of India brought with it a great extension of the caste system. We have seen that in the preceding age there were only four castes, and that the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas had gradually acquired a complete ascendancy over the rest. In the Sutra period the power and influence of the Kshattriya caste decayed. There are legendary accounts of fierce struggles between the two castes for supremacy. But the Kshattriyas had by this time declined from hardy warriors into a military aristocracy, resting on the traditions of its glorious past ; while the Brahmans, on the other hand, who claimed a complete monopoly of religion and learning, were ever growing more necessary to the community. We may believe, therefore, that if a war of extermination did at any time take place between Brahmans and Kshattriyas, the Brahmans were supported by the bulk of the community. At all events, in the Sutra period the Brahman became supreme.

Multiplication of castes.—Under Brahman supremacy the number of caste distinctions was gradually multiplied, and the rules relating thereto became more rigid and oppressive. There were two influences at work which tended to increase the number of caste subdivisions. First, the tendency noticeable in all early societies for professions to become hereditary ; and secondly, the gradual incorporation into Hinduism of non-Aryan tribes with peculiar habits and religious customs. Those who followed a profession, because their fathers had done so before them, jealously excluded outsiders from coming into competition with them, and gradually hedged themselves round with a number of rites and usages distinctive of their calling. Caste distinctions began to multiply most rapidly among the Sudras ; for it was this caste which included most of those who followed professions and the aborigines who entered within the pale

of Hinduism. It may therefore be readily understood how greatly during this period the system was extended. But besides growing more numerous castes became more exclusive. Religion was employed to tighten the bands which held the members of a caste together, and under Brahman influence restrictions were multiplied, and new restraints invented to hold the different castes and caste subdivisions asunder.

Objects of the caste system.—There can be no doubt that at one time in the history of the Hindus caste was useful for holding society together; that it was necessary for the preservation of social order; and that without it the non-Aryan element in Hinduism would have swamped the Aryan. It was necessary in the then state of society that there should be one class of men to whom it might look for guidance in religion and morality, a class that might hold aloft, uncontaminated by a baser civilization, Aryan traditions and beliefs. It was necessary also that there should be men who followed different professions, that each man should find his place and his work marked out for him from his birth, and that he should be held to his occupation by the strongest ties of religion and custom. Caste, in short, was necessary to the fullest life of those remote times, for it insured that the wants of society should be attended to and that its institutions should be preserved.

Evils attendant upon it.—But caste, while it served to maintain and spread Aryan religion and civilization, from its inflexibility and the inexorable nature of its rules was a system fatal to free and natural development. It stamped out individuality and confined genius and talent within the narrow range of a particular calling, and thus exercised a depressing and debasing influence on all but the highest caste. The lowly Sudra, born to a particular occupation, must pursue his life's work without hope of social improvement. If the Hindus thereby acquired the virtues of patience and resignation, it was at the expense of energy and ambition and all that makes for steady material progress.

CHAPTER IV.

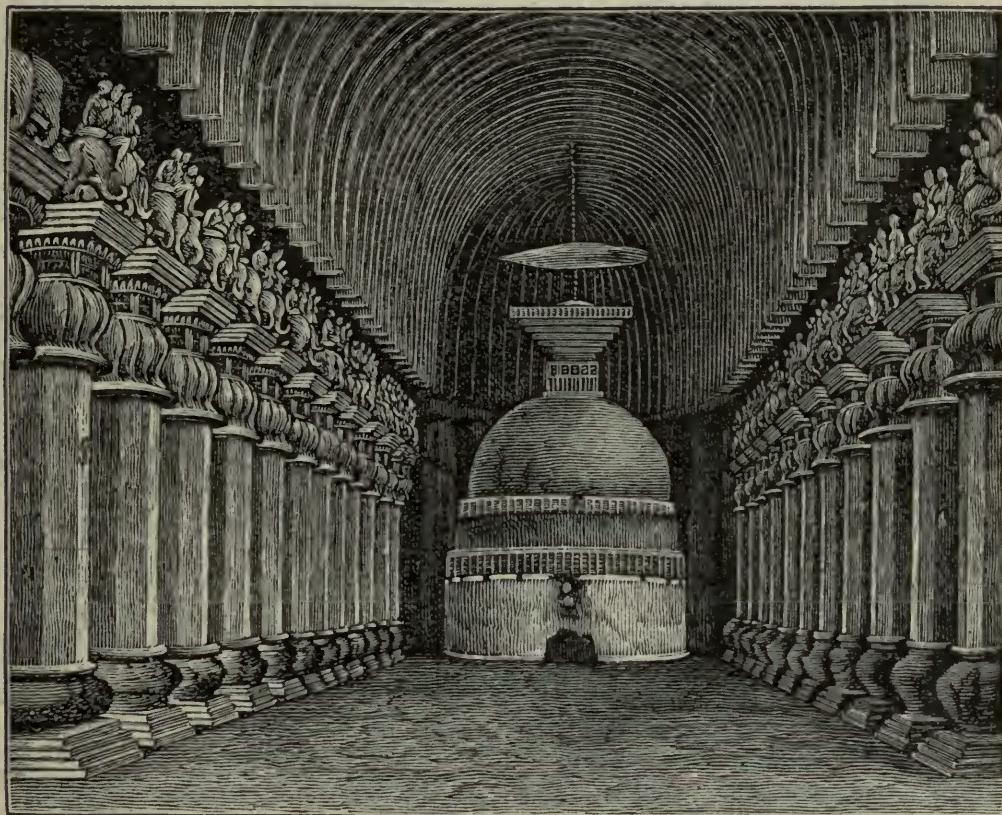
THE BUDDHIST AGE.

Political Divisions of India.—Towards the close of the seventh century B.C. the kingdom of Kosala had become the most important in all Aryavarta. It had conquered and annexed the kingdom of the Kashis to the south, and included all the territory lying between the Ganges and the Gandak, while to the north it stretched far up into Nepal. Ajodhya, the ancient capital, which had been so long the scene of Brahman triumphs, and in which, indeed, their pride had reached its zenith, had been deserted by the rulers for Sravasti, a city in the extreme north. This change of capital, whatever may have been the cause, seems to have dealt a severe blow to Brahman prestige ; for from that time the Brahman caste, which had for so many centuries dominated the kingdoms of the Middle Land, began to wane in power and influence.

New kingdoms established on the frontiers of Aryavarta had also meanwhile risen to importance. Of these the principal were Avanti in Malwa, of which the capital was Ujjain ; Gandhara, the modern Kandahar, including Eastern Afghanistan and the north-west corner of the Punjab, with its capital at a place called Takkasila (Taxila) ; and Vamsa, lying to the north-east of Avanti, with its capital at Kosambi on the banks of the Jumna. But to the south-east of Kosala a new kingdom was arising, destined to absorb them all. This was Magadha, in South Behar, ruled over by a Kshattriya dynasty of kings who held their court at Rajagriha, forty or fifty miles south of the Ganges.

The Republican states.—The sources of our information as to the state of India at this time are the Jain and Buddhist records, composed by disciples of two great religious reformers who arose in Northern India in the sixth century B.C. Including the kingdoms mentioned above there were altogether sixteen independent states, and of some of these the government was republican in form. In the republics the adult male population met

together in the principal town in a kind of parliament to transact the business of the state. They elected for a term of years one of their number, whom they called *rajah*, to preside over their meetings and to act as chief executive officer. In a similar manner the local affairs of each village were transacted by the assembled householders. Order was maintained throughout the state by a body of police



INTERIOR VIEW OF KARLI.

acting under the directions of the central authority. These republics were not named after towns or places, but after the principal clan within the territory. In one instance, that of the Vajjians, eight clans were included in one confederacy. The Vajjian state lay to the east of Kosala, and its capital was at Mithila, the city in which in an earlier age the learned Janaka was said to have held his court. The republic was a powerful one, and two of the clans included in the confederacy, the Videhans and the Lichchhavi, are frequently mentioned as playing an

important part in the history of their time. But the fame of other tribal republics was eclipsed for all time, as we shall see, by that of the Sakyas, a small Kshattriya clan, who dwelt in a strip of country lying along the present border of Nepal and British territory. Their capital was at a place called Kapilavastu, the site of which has lately been identified in the Nepalese Terai to the north of the Basti district.

The general state of the country.—It is a point of much importance that no mention is made of Orissa in the Jain and Buddhist records, or of the country lying to the east of the modern Bhagalpur, or of the Deccan and Ceylon : though mention is made of "The Southern Road." From this we may infer that Aryan civilization had not yet reached those parts. The colonization of Southern India, though it must have commenced some time earlier, could not then have extended beyond the river Godavari. Even in Northern India the settlements were still widely scattered. There were few considerable towns and the villages were surrounded with primeval jungle. The plains were for the most part covered by dense forest. The Maha Vana, or Great Wood, is frequently alluded to as an interminable forest lying between and around the settlements, and making communication difficult and dangerous.

Decay of Vedic Hinduism.—The seventh century B.C. and the first half of the sixth is a dark period in Indian history. The bright and joyous spirit of the Vedic religion had been smothered under a complicated mass of ritual, and the very meaning of its hymns had been forgotten, while the priests were busying themselves with outward forms and ceremonies. A great gulf yawned between the masses and their spiritual leaders. The Brahmans, resting on the traditions of their glorious past, were intent only upon the aggrandisement of their own order and upon securing to it all the privileges they could ; and the people, whom in their intellectual arrogance they despised, left without guides and bound down by an iron system of caste, were sinking deeper and deeper into a state of ignorance and superstition.

Gautama Buddha.—But the dawn of a reformation was at hand even when the moral and religious state of

the Hindus appeared most hopeless. In the city of Kapilavastu in the year 557 B.C. Mahamaya, the wife of Suddhodana, Rajah of the Sakyas, gave birth to a son who was destined to effect that reformation. The child was named Siddartha, but in after years he came to be known more generally by his family name of Gautama or as Sakyamuni, the Sakya sage. From his youth upwards he was much given to study and contemplation, though he is said to have excelled also in manly exercises. His serious mind was early impressed with the vanity of all earthly gains and hopes, and his sympathetic nature was deeply stirred on behalf of the poor and lowly, ground down under the cruel and oppressive system of caste. He saw that what passed for religion was a mere empty observance of forms and ceremonies, inwardly possessing nothing which could appeal to the hearts and imaginations of the people. So profoundly impressed was he with the need of a reformation that at length he determined to forsake his luxurious home and devote himself to the work of consoling and elevating mankind.

His enlightenment.—To this end he renounced ease and riches, wife, and child, and went forth into the world a beggar, to seek the salvation of his fellow-men. For many years he sought in vain for the key to the mysteries of human life. Neither learning nor penances could help him; but at last, when he had almost abandoned hope, the truth flashed upon him. Salvation lay in a well-governed life and love and pity for all living things. From henceforth he was Buddha the Enlightened, and he returned to the world to preach his gospel to all who would listen.

His doctrine.—He taught that salvation is within the reach of all, high and low caste alike; that he who leads a pure life and helps his fellow-creatures has no need to propitiate the gods with sacrifice; and that a man's present state is the result of his own acts, either in this, or in a former life. But as life must mean, even for the happiest of men, inevitably more of pain than of pleasure, it should be the object of a wise man to escape for ever from the weary round of existence, to gain the eternal rest of Nirvana, deliverance from being. This end can be attained, not through Vedic sacrifices and Brahman mediation, but

by the practice of virtuous living, by kindness to all living things and by the suppression of the passions and desires. It is not difficult to trace in this the influence of Kapila's system of philosophy.

The secret of his success.—Throughout his life and teaching Buddha displayed no direct antagonism to the Brahmans ; though he would not recognise that there was any inherent difference between them and other men. It is doubtful indeed if he deliberately set out to found a new religion. It seems more probable that he meant at first to be no more than a social reformer and a moral teacher. He was deeply learned in the philosophy of the day, and much of what he taught was borrowed from that philosophy. The doctrine of transmigration, or metempsychosis—the basis of his teaching—he had learnt from his early Hindu teachers. What, then, was the secret of his success ? It was that he brought hope to a despondent people, by boldly announcing that all men might obtain salvation by charity and holy living. He was therefore listened to, as no teacher before had been listened to by them. Prince and peasant, Brahman and Sudra, Aryan and non-Aryan alike, flocked to hear his message.. The fame of his teaching spread far and wide, and those who came only out of curiosity, attracted by the story of his early life and its great renunciation, were influenced like the rest by his gentleness and his simplicity, and above all by his deep earnestness. Bimbisara, King of Magadha, who had been his early friend, and Pasenadi, King of Kosala, espoused his cause. His father, too, became one of his earliest converts.

His missionary labours and death.—Buddha's first appearance as a preacher was in the Deer Park near Benares, a city famous even then for its learning and devotion to religion. Within a few months he had gathered round him a host of enthusiastic disciples, women as well as men, and many of these he sent out to preach his message in far distant places. He himself wandered throughout Oudh and Behar for the remainder of his life, preaching and converting the people to his faith. At the age of 80, while engaged in one of these missionary journeys, he was taken ill near a place called Kusinagara, about 80 miles east of

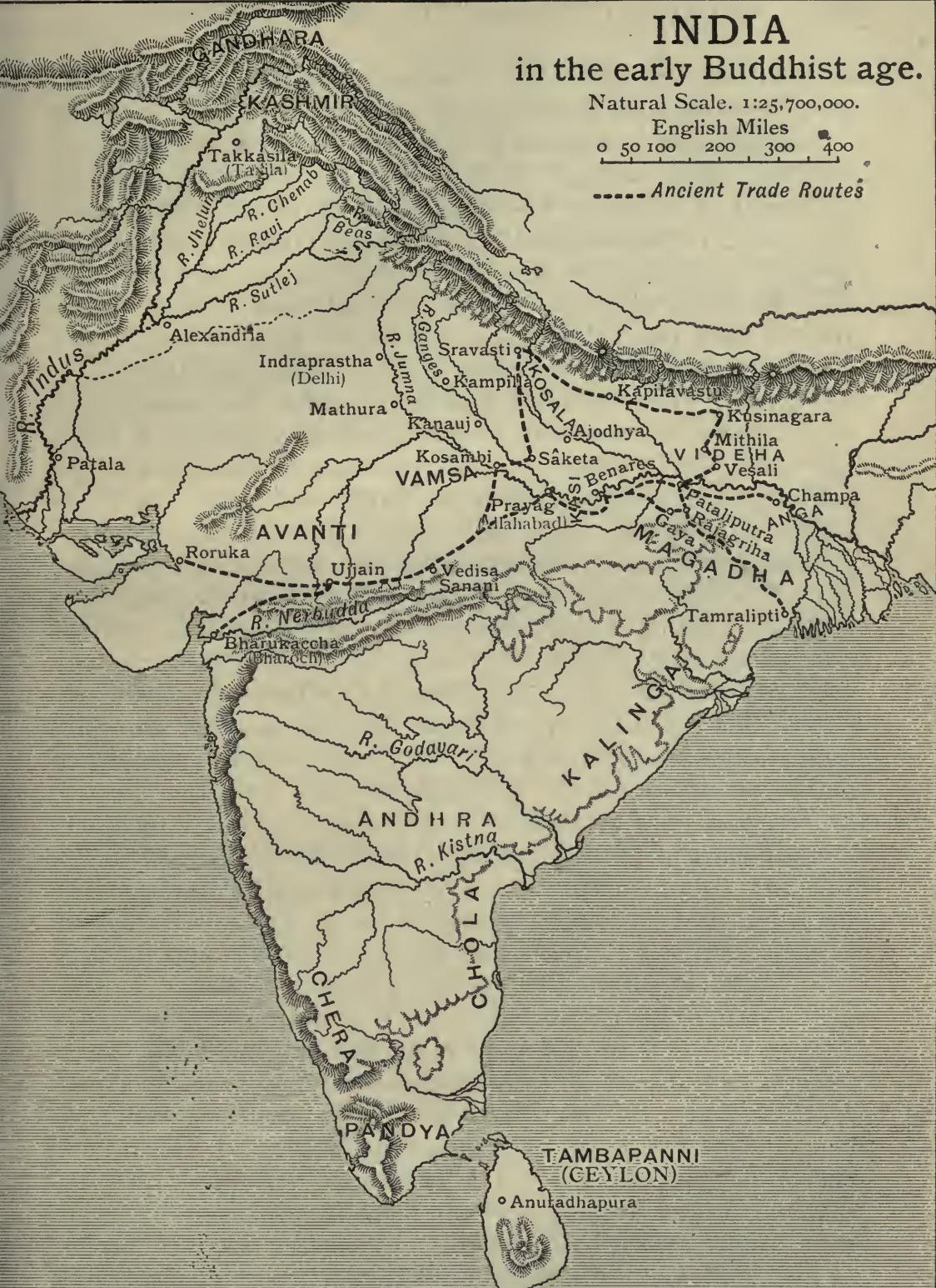
INDIA in the early Buddhist age.

Natural Scale. 1:25,700,000.

English Miles

0 50 100 200 300 400

----- Ancient Trade Routes



his native city, and there, teaching and exhorting to the last, he passed peacefully away.

Buddhism a social and religious reformation.—

It may seem strange that a religion which ignores the influence of a deity upon the destiny of man, and bids him seek in the extinction of his individuality the only possible escape from the miseries of living, should have had so rapid and so wide an acceptance. But if we reflect that the religion to which the Hindus were then accustomed not only held out to them no hope, no alleviation of the miseries of life, but on the other hand lent its weighty sanction to the grinding tyranny of caste, we shall not wonder at the popularity this new creed achieved. A religion such as Buddhism that taught so noble an ethical code, that had within it so much of practical philanthropy and dealt so vigorously with the abuses of the time, could not in such circumstances fail to commend itself to the majority whom it sought to set free from their cruel bondage.

Foundation of a monastic order.—In order to extend his teaching and to assist his more zealous disciples in making progress towards the goal, Buddha established an order of ascetics. He himself had forsaken wealth, power and family, that he might not be drawn by them away from the path of right living, or for their sake desire to cling to life. He therefore urged such a mode of life upon earnest disciples, though he never insisted upon their adopting it. Self-suppression, abstinence and poverty were enjoined upon the members of this society. But in order to prevent enthusiasts from mortifying themselves in the manner of Hindu devotees, he was careful to lay down rules regarding food, clothing and residence; remembering, no doubt, how, in the days when he was still searching for the truth, he had, all to no purpose, subjected his body to the severest penances. He therefore laid down for his disciples a middle path between pleasure and pain, by which man might attain to complete self-mastery without danger of injury to body or mind. Thus there sprang into existence in his lifetime an order of mendicants who dwelt together in monasteries, provided for them by wealthy converts and supported by the alms of believers, and who spent their days

in exhorting each other to be steadfast in the path and in training themselves for the work of preaching and converting the people. Women as well as men were admitted to the Sangha or Society. Its members were known as Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis, male and female mendicants. The creation of such an order gave stability and vitality to the new religion, and more than anything else helped to keep together after Buddha's death those who had embraced the faith.

The attitude of the Brahmans towards the new faith.—It may seem surprising that the Brahmans interfered so little with Buddha during his lifetime. It is probable that they regarded him at first as a mere reformer, and they therefore treated him with the same easy tolerance with which they were accustomed to treat the many itinerant preachers and propounders of new philosophic doctrines that arose in different parts of India in those times. Later on they no doubt feared in face of their diminishing prestige to attack one whose influence was so far-reaching, and who was supported by powerful kings. But the Sangha he had founded, in that it admitted all classes of men and women without distinction of caste, aimed too direct a blow against Brahmanism to be overlooked.

First two Buddhist Councils.—Buddha's body was cremated, and his ashes reverently preserved. The fragments which were given to his Sakya kinsmen have, in confirmation of the story of his decease as told in the Buddhist chronicles, lately come to light. On the site of Kapilavastu a vase containing sacred relics has been unearthed with an inscription upon it setting forth that within are a portion of the remains of Buddha. But hardly had he passed away before dissensions and differences sprang up among his followers. To set these at rest, in the year 477 B.C. the leading Bhikkhus called together a council at Rajagriha, under the patronage of Ajatasutru, the powerful King of Magadha, the son and successor of Bimbisara, Buddha's early friend. At this council, at which 500 believers were present, the whole assembly chanted together the sacred laws of the faith to fix them on their memories. Harmony was thus for a time restored ; but one hundred years later

it was found necessary to hold another council at a place called Vaisali, the capital of the Lichchhavi clan, about 70 miles north of Rajagriha ; for differences had once more arisen. Meanwhile under the protection of the kings of Magadha the new religion was spreading far and wide.

The rise of the Magadha Empire.—Bimbisara, besides achieving fame as the patron of Buddha, is noteworthy as the king who layed the foundations of the great Magadha Empire by his conquest and annexation of the Anga kingdom, lying to the east of his dominions. Its capital, Champa, a city far renowned for its beauty, was a place of great strategical importance, since it commanded the water-way down the Ganges as far as the modern Bhagalpur. After reigning for twenty-eight years Bimbisara is said to have abdicated in favour of his son, Ajatasutru, and to have then been imprisoned and starved to death by that ungrateful parricide. Ajatasutru enjoyed a long reign, and by successful attacks upon his neighbours added greatly to the size of his kingdom. With the growth of monarchical states there took place simultaneously a gradual disappearance of republican forms of government. First Vidudabha, son and successor of Pasenadi, king of Kosala, in revenge for an insult to his family swept away in a general massacre the Sakya republic, two years before the Buddha's death ; and later Ajatasutru destroyed the Vajjian republic by overwhelming the Lichchhavis and laying waste Vaisali. Kosala and Magadha in course of time between them absorbed all the surrounding states and thus brought themselves at length face to face with one another. A struggle for the mastery was inevitable, and though no details of it are recorded, the decline of Kosala marks the stages of a protracted conflict. In time the whole territory comprised roughly by Oudh and Behar passed under the sway of the kings of Magadha.

Progress of the new religion.—Bimbisara's dynasty came to an end early in the fourth century B.C. and was succeeded by that of the Nandas. The founder of this dynasty was of the Sudra caste, and, on that account perhaps, more favourably disposed to Buddhism than to Brahmanism. Under him and his eight sons the kingdom of Magadha grew to be the most powerful and the most

extensive in Northern India, and with its growth the new faith also grew and prospered. Buddhism had this great advantage over Brahmanism, that it availed itself of the vernacular language to spread its teaching. It was thereby enabled to catch the ears of all. Wherever the Buddhist missionaries went they were listened to by eager crowds who had been shut out, by their lowly birth and their ignorance of Sanskrit, from the religion of the high caste Aryan. As they came with a peaceful message and sought to make their teaching acceptable only by gentleness and toleration, they stirred up little antagonism.

Brahman influence still powerful.—But it must not be supposed that the Brahmins lost their influence altogether; for this, even when Buddhism became the prevailing religion, never was the case. Brahmanism was simply deposed from its hegemony, but the Brahmins still maintained their influence over large masses of the people. The Hindus had been too long accustomed to look up to them as their hereditary spiritual leaders to put off their awe and reverence for them. Moreover, Buddhism itself recognised the sanctity of the priesthood, and enjoined as much respect for Brahmins as for learned men of its own order. Its wise tolerance in this respect went far to disarm Brahman hostility.

Jainism.—A few years before the time that Buddha started to found his religion, another reformer had arisen whose doctrines, somewhat similar to those of Buddha, were yet destined to find a more permanent place among the religions of India. Mahavira, who was born at Vaisali, like Siddartha, was of noble birth, and like him also retired from the world in early manhood to lead a life of religious meditation. After some years of abstinence and profound study light came to him as to the Buddha, and he went forth to proclaim his discovery to the world. He thereafter called himself a Jina or 'Spiritual Conqueror,' and in the course of a long life, spent as an itinerant preacher, gathered round him a numerous band of devoted disciples whom he organized into an order or society. Jainism never attained the wide popularity of Buddhism, but it is curious to note that while the followers of Mahavira are still to be found in small communities all over India, Buddhism, which as a religion

once had so great a vogue, has practically disappeared from the country.

But we must leave the fortunes of Buddhism for a while and turn our attention to the Punjab, which after many centuries of obscurity once more became the scene of events important to India.

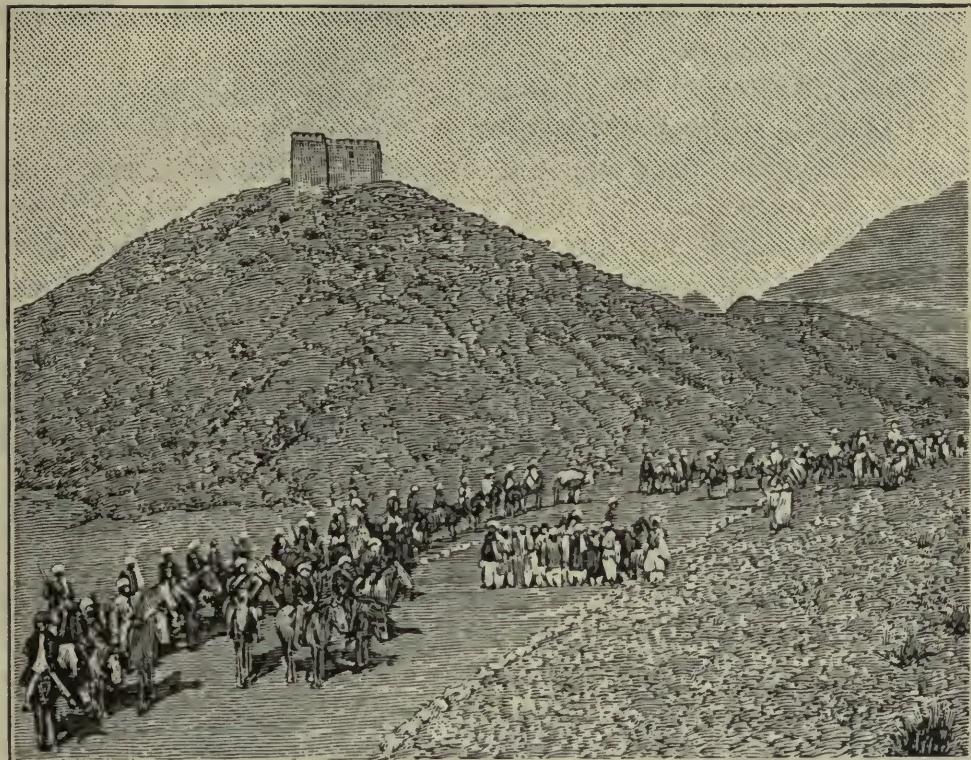
THE PERSIAN AND GREEK INVASIONS.

The Persian invasion.—About the year 500 B.C., that is about the time when Ajatasutru was reigning in Magadha, Darius I., one of the greatest of the rulers of ancient Persia, sent an expedition under a general named Skylax into India by way of Afghanistan to explore the course of the river Indus. Skylax successfully accomplished his mission, made his way down to the Indian Ocean and sailed westward till he reached the Red Sea. His description of the country and its accessibility led Darius to send another expedition to conquer and annex it. No details of the struggle have been preserved, but the Indus Valley was quickly overrun and formed into a separate satrapy, or province of Darius's vast empire. It proved to be a most valuable acquisition, and at one time the tribute which it yielded in gold alone was over a million sterling, the largest amount of revenue received from any satrapy, while it supplied a contingent of skilled archers for the Persian army. How long the Indus Valley remained subject to the Persian Empire is not known, but when the latter began to decline it was probably among the first of the satrapies to regain independence. At anyrate by the fourth century B.C. the Persian invasion had almost been forgotten in Northern India.

Alexander invades the Punjab.—In the year 327 B.C. India was subjected to another invasion from the North West. Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, having completed his conquest of the Persian Empire by the reduction of the fierce and warlike tribes of Central Asia, suddenly made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Kabul with his invincible army of Greeks, and summoned the princes of the Punjab to do him homage. He based his claim to their allegiance upon the shadowy ground that the Punjab as far as the Indus had been laid under tribute by Darius I.

about 180 years before, and that, though tribute had long since ceased to be paid or even demanded, yet the right to levy it had never actually been renounced.

The Punjab was then split up into several principalities, owing a sort of allegiance to an overlord of the Kshattriya



KHYBER PASS.

caste who ruled the country lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab. At the time of Alexander's coming some of the petty kings, probably later immigrants from Central Asia known as Scythians, were in revolt against Porus, their Aryan overlord. Taxiles, the ruler of the country between the Indus and the Jhelum, whose capital was at Taxila upon the banks of the Indus in the Attock district, and the rebellious princes hastened with rich gifts to pay homage to Alexander, but Porus and the others took no notice of his summons. Since all had not acknowledged his authority, the warlike Alexander considered that he had received sufficient provocation to justify an invasion. Had it not been for the jealousy and intrigues of these factious princes

against their overlord, the task of invading India would have been a much more formidable one. As it was, Alexander was able unmolested to march down the dangerous Khyber Pass into the valley of Peshawar, to cross his army without opposition over the river Indus, and to use the country of Taxiles both as a source from which to draw supplies for his army and as a base of operations in the ensuing campaign.

The battle of the Jhelum.—After halting some time at Taxila to complete his preparations, Alexander marched towards the Jhelum, where he heard that Porus with all the forces he could muster was waiting to dispute his passage. Alexander drew up his army on the bank of the river opposite that of Porus. But on one wild and stormy night, under cover of the darkness, leaving a portion of his forces behind him so as not to excite suspicion, he himself with the main body crossed the river at a spot a few miles distant. When the scouts of Porus informed him of what had happened, he immediately despatched his son with a considerable body of troops to check Alexander's advance. The son of Porus hurried forward gallantly to the attack; but the rain had made the ground soft, and the chariots on which he placed so much reliance stuck in the mud and impeded rather than assisted him. In the battle which ensued, the Indian horsemen, though fighting with desperate courage, could not stand against the well-disciplined cavalry of the Greeks, and were driven in upon the supporting infantry. Behind the Greek cavalry came the steady phalanxes of veteran foot-soldiers, who bore down all before them. The rout was soon complete, and the Indians fled precipitately, leaving their leader's body among the heaps of slain.

Submission of Porus.—When the news was brought to Porus that his son was killed and that the force sent with him had been dispersed, he drew up his whole army in array, determined that the issue between himself and Alexander should be decided in one pitched battle. In front of his infantry he stationed his two hundred elephants, which were to have been goaded forward by their drivers to trample down the enemy. He had besides an immense body of cavalry and a number of

war-chariots. When the two opposing forces met, a sudden panic seized the elephants, and turning round they rushed back upon his army, crushing men and horses and throwing the ranks into confusion. The Greeks following close upon the terrified animals, quickly put to flight the whole army. Further resistance was vain, and Porus was obliged to tender his submission. Alexander was greatly pleased with the courage and spirit shown by his fallen enemy, and not only treated him with the honour due to his rank, but restored to him his kingdom. Porus repaid the kingly generosity of his conqueror by becoming henceforth his loyal and devoted friend.

Proposed attack on Magadha.—While at Taxila, Alexander had heard tidings of a kingdom on the banks of the Ganges which far surpassed in wealth and power any that he had yet met with. This kingdom was Magadha, over which the last of the Nanda dynasty was then reigning. In the years that had intervened since Buddha's death Magadha had been steadily growing till it was now the most powerful kingdom in Northern India. It had already absorbed Kosala and the neighbouring kingdoms to the south, east and west, and now stretched right up to the borders of the Punjab. Alexander's informant was Chandra Gupta, or Sandrocottus as the Greeks called him, an exiled prince from Nanda's court. With tales of the grandeur and magnificence of Nanda's capital the wily Indian fired Alexander's mind with lust of conquest, and then coolly proposed that they should invade the kingdom together, depose the reigning monarch, and place him, Chandra Gupta, on the throne. Alexander was impressed with the feasibility of the project, but was so greatly displeased with the presumption of the adventurer that Chandra Gupta was obliged to fly for his life from Taxila.

After the conquest of Porus, Alexander fought his victorious way to the banks of the Chenab, receiving on the march the submission of the ruler of Kashmir. The Ravi and the Byas were next crossed without serious opposition, but in the country of the Kathaians beyond he met with a stubborn resistance, which was not overcome till Sangala the capital had been captured and rased to the ground. Magadha now lay before him, but the conqueror's

war-worn veterans had had enough of fighting, and longed to return to Greece; and now, too, the south-west monsoon had begun to deluge the country with rain. When they heard that they would be required to march still further from their homes in Europe, they refused, in spite of threats, entreaties and promises of plunder to be led against Magadha.

Alexander's departure and death.—Alexander was therefore forced to relinquish his project and to make his way back to Persia. Part of his troops were sent down the Jhelum and the Indus in boats to the sea, while he and the remainder marched along the banks. On the way he met with considerable opposition from the natives, and was himself severely wounded in the assault and capture of Multan. Near the junction of the Five Rivers he halted for a while and began the construction of a city which he named Alexandria. There he left a Greek governor and garrison; then marching on to where the Indus branches out into its delta, he founded another city, Patala, which as Hyderabad, the capital of Sind, survives to this day. After suffering great hardships and losing many of his soldiers in the wild and desolate country of Baluchistan, he reached Persia in 325 B.C. Two years later at Babylon, the capital, while busily maturing fresh schemes of conquest, he was seized with a fever and died.

Effects of his invasion.—Though Alexander added no portion of India to his vast dominions, yet by founding cities, establishing Greek garrisons and setting up and dethroning kings, he had insured that the effects of his invasion should endure. But the most important result of his invasion was that it brought into contact with each other the two most highly civilized nations of the ancient world—a contact that could not be otherwise than to their mutual advantage. While the Hindus of Northern India felt the influence of Greece in science and art, the Greeks must have imbibed from the Hindus something of their deep religious and philosophical speculations.

Chandra Gupta and Seleucus.—After Alexander's death his vast empire broke up, and in the scramble which ensued Seleucus, one of his generals, seized upon the Province of Bactria, lying to the north of Afghanistan, and

established there an independent Greek kingdom. As soon as he had consolidated his power, he invaded India, thinking to carry out the plans of conquest which had filled the mind of Alexander. But in the years which had passed since Alexander's death, Chandra Gupta, the exiled prince



HEAD OF ALEXANDER (IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM).

of Magadha, had actually succeeded in carrying out, single-handed, the project which he had proposed that he and Alexander should jointly effect. Taking advantage of the anarchy which followed the withdrawal of the Greeks from Northern India, he had by promises of plunder gathered together a powerful army of mercenaries and freebooters, and with its assistance overthrown and slain the last of the Nandas and seized his kingdom. He had since entered upon a career of conquest, and at the time of the invasion of Seleucus had extended his sway over the whole of

Northern India. Seleucus therefore, unlike Alexander, had to face one powerful ruler instead of several petty kings who could not for their mutual jealousies act in concert. When he had penetrated as far as the Ganges, he found himself in such difficulties that he was glad to make peace with Chandra Gupta on terms very different from those of a victorious invader. He agreed to relinquish all territory south of Kabul to the Hindu king in exchange for 500 elephants. An alliance was then concluded between the two monarchs, in proof of the good faith of which Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to Chandra Gupta, and the latter agreed to receive a Greek ambassador at his court.

Megasthenes's account of Magadha.—This ambassador, whose name was Megasthenes, wrote an account of his five years' sojourn at Chandra Gupta's capital, but, unfortunately, fragments only of it have been preserved to us. The capital had been removed from Rajagriha by one of the early Nanda kings to Pataliputra, at the junction of the Ganges and the Sone. Megasthenes describes it as a city ten miles long by two miles broad, protected on one side by the Ganges and on the other by a deep ditch, and surrounded on all sides by a wooden wall. The government was, so far as the capital was concerned, a paternal despotism. The people were entirely at the mercy of officials and had no voice in public affairs. The empire of Magadha was a loose confederacy of 118 towns and principalities, under the suzerainty of the ruler of Pataliputra, but practically independent as far as their internal administration was concerned.

The social state of the Hindus.—Except in regard to matters which came under his own observation Megasthenes's account must be received with caution. He was undoubtedly a close and accurate observer, but statements which he makes on the strength of reports made to him by others are often obviously false and show a degree of credulity which is astonishing. He gravely tells of tribes of men without mouths, of others with a single eye, and many similar absurdities: but it is only fair to him to add that his original work has not been preserved, and we have to rely upon quotations from it preserved in later writers, and that even when every deduction has been made there

is still a considerable residuum of fact in his account which is well worthy of attention. Megasthenes remarks with approval the exemption of cultivators from military service, but he deplores the stringency of the caste rules. He was very favourably impressed with the Hindus, and ascribes to them many virtues for which they are not now conspicuous. But when he speaks of their simple and frugal habits on the one hand, and on the other of their extravagant love of ornament and show, he is noticing traits which prevail to the present day. Strangely enough he makes no reference to Buddhism ; though it is thought by some that by one of the two classes of philosophers mentioned by him may be meant the Buddhist teachers. The omission may be due to the fact that in the time of Chandra Gupta, who was not a Buddhist king, the sect, deprived of royal favour, had dwindled to insignificance ; or it may be that the ambassador relied too implicitly for his accounts of Hindu society upon what he gathered from Brahman sources. He states that the Hindus had no laws ; but as his description of the Government agrees fairly closely with the form laid down in the Code of Manu, we may suppose that some portions of that sacred unwritten Code were generally, if tacitly, observed. The village community was answerable through its headman to the king for its taxes and good conduct, but otherwise was allowed to manage its own internal affairs as it pleased. The king was the owner of all the land, and exacted for the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.

Life at the Capital.—Megasthenes gives a wonderfully vivid picture of the life of the court and of the capital. The palace which was surrounded by a wide and well-kept park, though made chiefly of wood, excelled in beauty and costliness of workmanship any to be found even in Persia. It was furnished with unexampled lavishness and splendour, gold and jewels being profusely employed for ornamentation and in the vessels for royal use. The king spent his leisure in hunting and in watching combats of animals and men, but he seldom showed himself outside the palace, and when he went among his people he was surrounded by a band of armed women, fierce and strong, and it was death to attempt to approach him. In spite of his magnificence and power

he lived in constant dread of assassination, never sleeping during the day-time or in the same room on two successive nights.

The Administration.—A huge standing army was maintained continuously on a war footing, which, if Megasthenes is to be credited, comprised 600,000 infantry, 30,000 horse and 9000 elephants, besides a multitude of chariots. The affairs of the army were managed by a commission consisting of thirty members, subdivided into boards which had charge of the various departments, such as infantry and cavalry. The control of the capital was similarly administered by boards. Trade and manufacture were very strictly supervised with a view to insuring the full collection of the revenue from taxes thereon. The registration of births and deaths was likewise carefully maintained, and wages and prices were regulated by the State. The laws relating to the payment of taxes were very severe, evasions of payment being punishable with death, and crime was repressed with almost inhuman cruelty and harshness.

The administration of provinces was entrusted to viceroys, over whom a careful watch was kept by means of an elaborate system of espionage. The land tax was then as now the principal source of revenue and the land was "settled" for purposes of taxation; but it is difficult to believe that a uniform rate of one-fourth of the gross produce, as stated by Megasthenes, could have been levied everywhere. Irrigation was very carefully attended to and irrigation works of great importance were constructed. Megasthenes explicitly states that it was the duty of one set of officers "to measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals, so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit."

We are justified in inferring from Megasthenes's account of the Magadha Empire that, despite some barbarously cruel laws, relentless exactions, and the inquisitorial nature of the government, a high stage of civilization had been reached in India, and that the people were fairly prosperous and as a whole well cared for by the State.

THE RISE OF BUDDHISM.

Asoka.—Chandra Gupta reigned for twenty-four years as King of Magadha and overlord of many little kingdoms of Northern and North-Western India. He was the founder of a line of kings known as the Mauriya dynasty, and was succeeded by his son Bindusara. This king, who reigned for twenty-eight years, extended his father's empire by fresh conquests. His successor was his son Asoka, one of the greatest of Indian rulers. The Buddhist chronicles declare that he succeeded in establishing himself upon his father's throne by the murder of the rightful heir, his elder brother, and the wholesale massacre of the members of the royal family. This is doubtless an exaggeration, for Asoka, in one of his edicts issued at a much later date, makes mention of brothers still alive. At the time of his father's death Asoka was acting as governor of Ujjain, and, as has so often happened in the history of India, a fratricidal struggle took place for the possession of the throne. His elder brother, who was governor of Taxila, appears to have been his most formidable rival, and a fierce encounter took place between them, ending in the defeat and death of the former. Asoka ascended the throne in B.C. 267, but was not crowned at Pataliputra till four years later. The early years of his reign were spent in extending still further the empire of Magadha by adding to it after a long and devastating war the territory of the Kalingas, lying between his kingdom and the Bay of Bengal. Under him the empire of Magadha became the greatest that had up to then been known in India. So great did his power become that his suzerainty was acknowledged up to the borders of Bactria in the north down to the Krishna River in the south.

His conversion to Buddhism.—But it is not so much on this account that he has left so great a name in history as because of his zeal in the cause of Buddhism. He was not in early life a Buddhist; indeed, if we may believe the Buddhist chronicles, he had been notorious for violence and cruelty. But the horrors of the conquest of Kalinga, and the miseries inflicted thereby upon a prosperous and civilized people, so wrought upon his mind that they altered the whole tenor of his life. From that time he

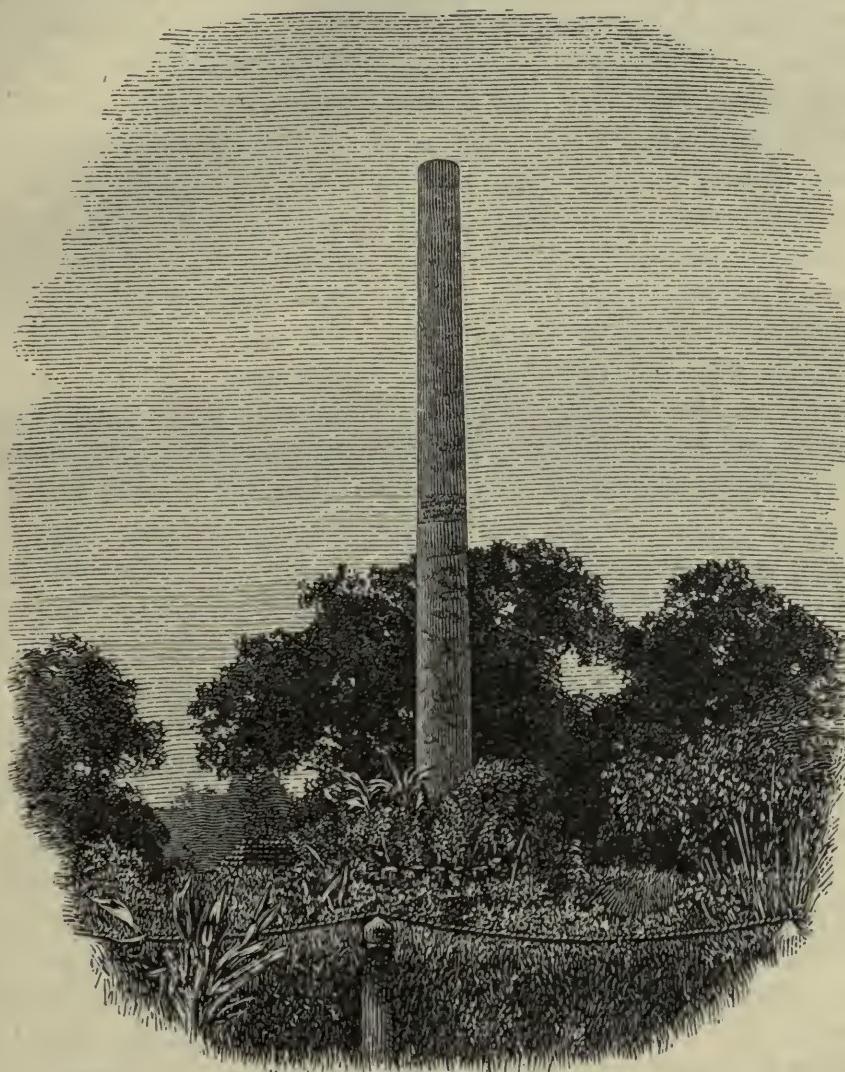
was troubled with remorse and began to show a kindly leaning towards the Buddhist religion ; and as he grew older, he came more and more under the influence of the Buddhist sages, till, in the eleventh year after his coronation, he openly avowed himself a convert to that mild and gentle creed. His was an ardent nature, and having made up his mind that salvation lay in the path that Buddha had revealed, he was determined to do all in his power to guide mankind along it. From that moment, the power and the influence of the Brahmans, who had regained their ascendancy under his predecessors, rapidly declined. Buddhism was established as the state religion of his empire and its doctrines proclaimed far and wide.

Third Buddhist Council.—Two years after his conversion a great council was called together at his capital, to settle the faith, and to classify and compile the Buddhist scriptures. This is known as the Third Great Buddhist Council.¹ It is important to notice in passing first, that the language employed was that in common use at the time, the Magadhi or Pali language, and secondly, that in Asoka's time writing was freely in use in India.

Asoka's edicts.—In the thirteenth year after his coronation he began to issue edicts setting forth the tenets of the faith, and had them inscribed on rocks in different parts of his kingdom. These rock-cut edicts exist to the present day, noble memorials of his earnestness and piety, and records of the greatest interest and importance to the historian and the scholar. In all of them he styles himself King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and he tells us in them that he has ordered the faithful to gather in each district every five years for religious instruction ; that he has appointed Buddhist ministers to go into every land to attend to the spiritual needs of believers and to teach those who have not yet heard the Law ; that he has enjoined universal religious tolera-

¹ There is no good reason for rejecting, as some have done, the story of the Third Buddhist Council as a later invention of the monks of Ceylon, for the relics of Tissa, son of Moggali, who is said to have presided at it, have actually been discovered at Sanchi in the Central Provinces.

tion and exhorted his subjects to be ever extolling virtue and imparting true religion to each other; that he has prohibited the slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice; that he has provided medicines for man and beast



ASOKA'S PILLAR.

in all the realms over which he exercises suzerainty, dug wells and built rest-houses along the public roads, and planted medicinal herbs, fruit trees, and trees to afford shade to travellers, wherever they were needed. The edicts also tell us how wide-reaching was the influence of Asoka and with what distant countries the Empire of

Magadha had intercourse. Antiochus of Bactria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedon, and Alexander of Epirus received his missionaries and permitted them to preach in their dominions.

His zeal for the faith.—In addition to the rock inscriptions, in the 26th and 27th years of his reign he issued a fresh set of edicts, containing further religious and moral instructions, and had them inscribed on pillars in different parts of his kingdom. His zeal in the propagation of the faith knew no bounds. Everywhere hospitals and dispensaries were established, schools opened for the teaching of religion and ministers appointed to supervise the morals of his people. Buddhist monasteries enjoyed the special patronage of the state. Those who took monastic vows and wore the yellow robe were so numerous that the eastern portion of the empire became known as the land of the Viharas or monasteries. Mahendra, his son, and Sanghamitra, his daughter, entered the order of mendicants, and went to Ceylon to spread the faith among its people.¹ Their mission was from the first crowned with success. The king of the island embraced the new faith, and erected a stately monastery for those who joined the order, and there the brother and sister lived and taught for the remainder of their lives. The missionary enterprise during Asoka's reign was extraordinary vigorous and far-reaching. Buddhist mendicant monks penetrated to Kashmir, Afghanistan, Bactria, and Greece, Lower Burmah, and Indo-China, and to every part of India. Everything that could be done was done to spread the religion of Buddha and insure obedience to its tenets, short of persecution or forcible conversion. These the religion itself strictly forbade; for it is the special boast of Buddhism that from the first it has relied solely upon peaceful missionary work.

His greatness.—Asoka died in 232 B.C., after having reigned for forty-one years. He had been strong enough to keep in check the whole extent of his vast empire, and had preserved friendly relations with the independent kingdoms on its borders. Therefore during his long reign India enjoyed one of those periods of general peace which have

¹ Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Asoka* rejects the whole story, but see Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, pp. 300-304.

occurred so seldom in her history. Few kings have had so good a title to be called Great as this earnest noble-minded monarch, and none has exercised a greater influence for good upon his fellow-men.

Decay of the Magadha Empire.—After Asoka's death six kings of the Mauriya dynasty ruled over Magadha. But the Empire quickly dwindled in the hands of his successors, and in 184 B.C. the last of the Mauriyas, who reigned over little more than the province of Magadha, was assassinated by Pushyamitra, his commander in-chief. Pushyamitra seized the throne and was the founder of a short-lived dynasty known as the Sungas. He favoured Brahmanism and is said to have cruelly oppressed the Buddhists. His reign is chiefly noteworthy for another daring Greek incursion which occurred during it. The decay of the Magadha Empire seems to have resulted in the establishment of a number of little Greek



COIN OF MENANDER.

kingdoms in the country west of the Indus. The ruler of one of these, Menander by name, who held sway in the Kabul Valley, undertook about the year 155 B.C. an adventurous incursion into Northern India. Not only did he cross the Beas, the furthest point reached by Alexander, but he pushed his way through the country now included in the United Provinces and was only checked finally at the very gates of Pataliputra itself. That a petty prince should have been able to accomplish such a striking feat of arms is eloquent of the rapid decline of military power in India since the days of Asoka.

Rise of the Andhras.—Northern India during the latter half of the second century B.C. was in a very unsettled state, and the rise about this time of a new power, the Andhras, in Central India must have contributed not a little

to increase the confusion and unrest. The Sunga dynasty of Magadha came to an end in B.C. 72, much in the same way as that of the Mauriyas had done. The last king was assassinated by his Brahman prime-minister, who usurped the throne. The Kanya dynasty, which the usurper founded, had an even shorter duration than the Sunga, for in 27 B.C. the reigning Andhra monarch defeated and slew the Kanya ruler and annexed his kingdom to his own. Thus ingloriously ended the great Magadha Empire. Very little is known of the history of the Andhras, but they rapidly rose in power and importance and conquered a large portion of the Deccan. Their territory, roughly speaking, comprised the modern Hyderabad, Berar and the Central Provinces. Their kings were Buddhists, and the remains of stupas and monasteries erected by them are still to be seen scattered over the Deccan.

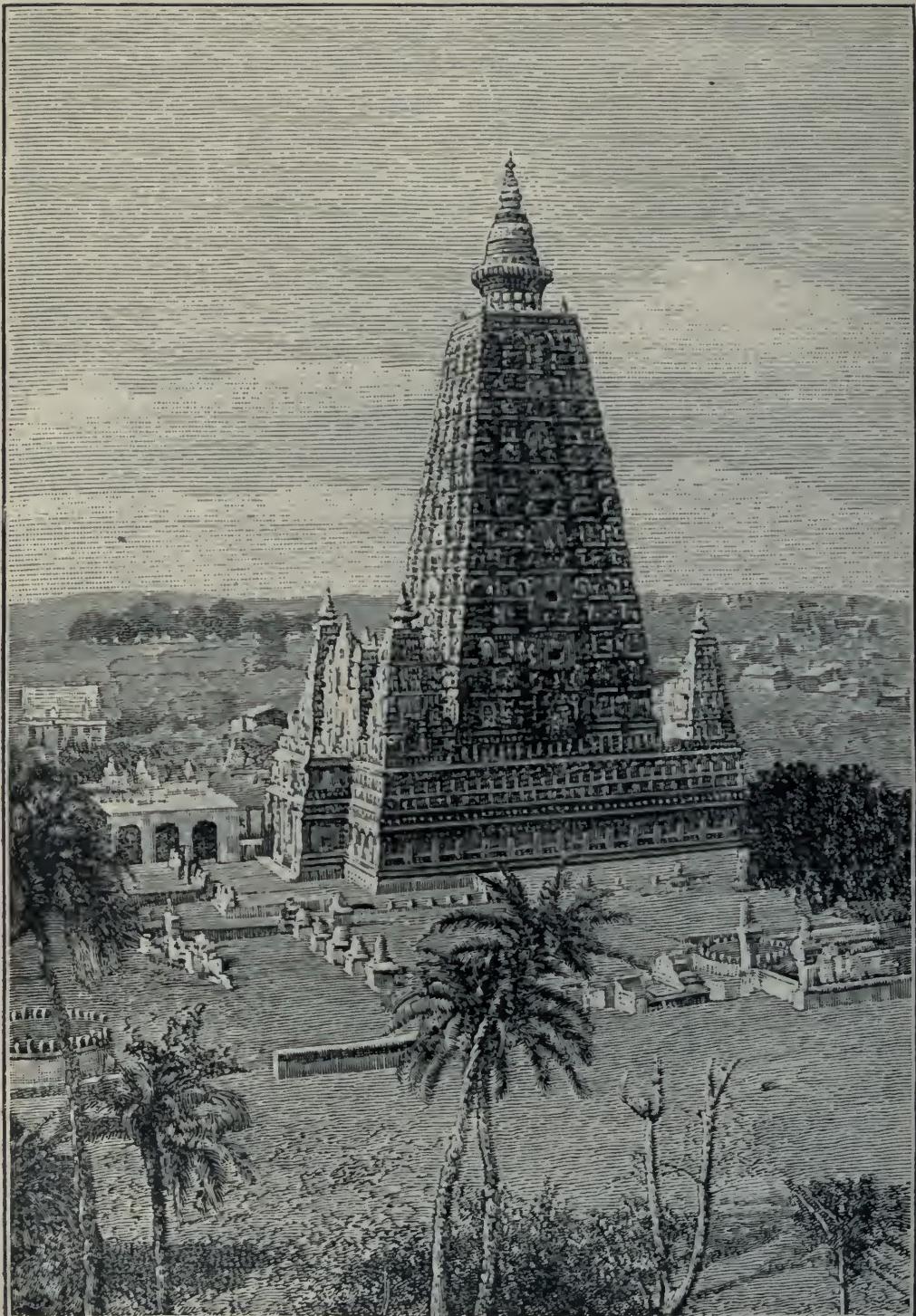
TABLE OF APPROXIMATE DATES.

EARLY HINDU PERIOD.

	B.C.
Rise of Magadha under the Saisunagas	600
Birth of Buddha, founder of Buddhism	557
Commencement of the reign of Bimbisara	520
Persian invasion of the Indus Valley	500
Ajatasatru's reign begins	490
Death of Buddha	487
First Buddhist Council	477
Second Buddhist Council	380
The first of the Nandas begins to reign	370
Alexander's invasion	327
Chandragupta Mauriya	321
Bindusara	295
Asoka	267
Third Buddhist Council	244
Pushyamitra, founder of the Sunga dynasty	184
Menander's incursion	150
The Kanya dynasty founded	72
The Andhra ruler reduces Magadha	27

Scythians and Parthians.—About the middle of the second century B.C., that is a few years after Menander's invasion, the small Greek kingdoms of Bactria were attacked and overrun by the Sakas, nomad hordes of wild barbarians dwelling to the south-west of the Aral Sea. The Sakas, or Scythians as they are often called, had been forced south by the pressure of another invading host known as the Yueh-Chi, migrating westward in vast numbers from Chinese territory. The Sakas, after destroying the Greek kingdoms of Bactria, seem to have secured for a time an uncertain footing in the northern Punjab ; but a branch that made its way down the Indus valley succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Kathiawar, then called Saurashtra. The ill-success of the Sakas in the Punjab was perhaps due to inroads of Parthians that occurred about the same time, for it seems certain that a succession of Parthian kings held sway upon the north-west frontier from about 120 B.C. till the middle of the first century A.D. The Sakas appear to have accepted a position of vassalage under the Parthians, for their rulers took the Persian title of Kshatrapa, or Satrap, which signifies subordination to an imperial ruler. Amidst the confusion of names and dates in the history of the period, the name of one Parthian overlord, Gondophares, deserves to be remembered. He is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 21 and to have reigned for about thirty years ; but the chief interest attaching to his name is that very early Christian tradition represents him as having received a Christian mission led by the apostle Thomas himself. There seems no good reason for doubting the truth of the story, though it was not from this direction that Christianity was destined to gain a permanent foothold on the Indian continent.

The Yueh-Chi.—But while Greeks, Parthians and Sakas were struggling desparately together, the Yueh-Chi were pushing relentlessly south, hard upon the heels of the Sakas. Before the Yueh-Chi all three contestants alike went down, and by the middle of the first century of the Christian Era, Kadphises, the ruler of the leading Yueh-Chi clan, the Kushans, had seized upon the whole of the territory north of India comprised by the countries now



THE OLD TOWER, BUDDH GAYA, AS RESTORED.

known as Afghanistan and Bokhara. Kadphises died about 85 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Kadphises II. The latter, having made an unsuccessful attack upon the Chinese Empire, turned his attention to India, which offered an easier conquest. Crossing over the border he overthrew the Parthian ruler and the Saka Kshatrapas of the Punjab together, and speedily made himself the acknowledged master of Northern India as far as Benares and Ghazipur. Meanwhile the western Scythians, who still occupied Guzerat, taking advantage of the state of anarchy resulting from the struggles for supremacy in the north, succeeded in establishing a powerful and independent kingdom. The Saka era, 78 A.D., an era widely employed in reckoning historical dates, marks the date of their declaration of independence.

Embassy to Rome.—It was probably on the conclusion of his Indian campaign that Kadphises II. sent in 99 A.D. his embassy to Rome to offer his congratulations to the Emperor Trajan. Though this is the first mention of intercourse between India and the Roman Empire it may be mentioned that an extensive trade with Europe in silks, spices and precious stones was being carried on during the whole of the first century A.D., mainly through the ports along the western coast of India. Commerce with foreign countries was no innovation, for in much earlier times Southern India had supplied the markets of Babylon with merchandise, and a coasting trade had existed between it and Mesopotamia almost from time immemorial. But Trajan's conquests brought India and Rome for the first time into actual contact; for Rome became through them a great Asiatic power, and direct trade relations were soon established between the two. Roman coins began to pass current in Northern and Western India, and the influence of Roman art is strongly marked in the currency and stone carving of the period.

Political divisions of India.—There was at this time in India no paramount power, as there had been in the time of Asoka. The Andhras, while able to extend their dominions over Behar, were unable to push their conquests south of the Kistna River, and the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas still maintained their ancient sway in Southern India. The Kushan branch of the Yuch-Chi did indeed

rapidly extend its dominions, but its power lay chiefly in the north and west of India and mainly beyond its borders in Central Asia.

Kanishka.—Kadphises II. was succeeded by Kanishka about the year A.D. 125, and under him the Kushan



KANISKA OFFERING INCENSE.

(From a coin.)

Empire reached the zenith of its power. Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan were added to the territories beyond the Indian frontier, and in India the Kushan monarch's sway extended as far south as the Vindhyas. Kanishka established his capital at Peshawar, upon Indian soil, and the city became under him rich and famous and renowned particularly for a noble style of stone-carving known as the Indo-Roman Buddhist style. Like the Great Asoka, whom he delighted to imitate, he was a convert to Buddhism.

But the Buddhism of Kanishka's day was very different from that of Asoka's. Buddha, despite his express teaching, had long since been deified, and around him as a central deity the whole mythology of a spirit-world had grown up. Buddhism had, in fact, passed into a regular religion, and in the process the simple teaching of the founder was smothered beneath a mass of superstitious ritual. In Kanishka's reign, as in that of Asoka, a Great Council was summoned to settle disputed points of doctrine. This Council, which was the last of the Buddhist Councils, settled the creed of the northern Buddhists, as Asoka's had settled that of the southern. It is significant of the revival of Brahman influence that the language used was Sanskrit, and that Brahmanical doctrine is much in evidence in these commentaries. There are thus two schools of Buddhism, that of the northern Buddhists, known as the Mahāyāna or High Path, and that of the southern Buddhist, the Hinayāna or Low Path school. It was in Kanishka's reign that Buddhist missionaries were sent northwards into Thibet and China.

Decline of the Kushan Empire.—Kanishka died about the year 150 A.D., and was succeeded by his son, Huvishka. The new king was, like his father, a munificent patron of Buddhism and continued to endow monasteries and erect stupas on a lavish scale; but he was lax in his beliefs and did honour to the gods of other religions as well—Greek, Indian, and Persian. Huvishka, like his father, enjoyed a long reign and seems to have retained unimpaired the vast empire bequeathed to him. His successor was named Vasudeva, a significantly Hindu-sounding name. The fact, too, that upon his coins are represented the mystical signs of the Hindu religion seems to indicate that Brahman influence was in the ascendant and a change of faith taking place. Vasudeva was the last of the Kushan kings to hold imperial sway, and the empire rapidly declined during his reign. His death was followed by a period of great confusion in Northern India, during which no paramount power arose nor were any stable kingdoms established.

Saurashtra.—The Saka kingdom of Guzerat, known as Saurashtra, meanwhile grew and prospered. Its kings,

known as the Western Kshatrapas, appear to have been Hindus by religion. An inscription of one of them, named Nahapana, who ascended the throne in 119 A.D., shows that he favoured Hinduism, and paid extravagant honours to Brahmans. Nahapana, who was of a warlike disposition, was for a time successful in his campaigns against his Andhra neighbours, and took from them much territory, including Malwa ; but in 126 Vivilayakura II., the Andhra king, overran his dominions and in pitched battle defeated and slew him. But this check to the fortunes of the kingdom of Saurashtra was only temporary, for Chasthana, Nahapana's successor, recovered Malwa and removed his capital inland to the ancient city of Ujjain. Rudradaman, his grandson, who reigned in the middle of the second century, made himself by extensive conquests the most powerful king in Western India, and twice defeated the Andhra king.

The Guptas.—The first half of the third century is marked by the decline of the Andhra kingdom. Exhausted

by its struggles with Saurashtra and torn by internal dissensions it had begun to lose its hold on the outlying portions of its dominions. First a succession of revolts in the south led to the establishment of several small principalities, and then the northern provinces threw off their allegiance, forming a new kingdom, that of the Chedis. The break up of the Andhra kingdom



VIKRAMADITYA OR CHANDRAGUPTA II.
(From a coin.)

was followed by a period of general anarchy and strife, favourable to the rise of daring and skilful adventurers. A strong hand only was needed to pacify and reunite the whole, and in the latter half of the century Magadha

once again supplied rulers capable of performing the task. Pataliputra, which had for so many years ceased to play an important part in history, was at this time ruled over by a petty prince of the name of Chandragupta. By his marriage with a Lichchhavi lady of noble birth, named Kumara Devi, he had gained both strength and prestige; for the Lichchhavis, after centuries of obscurity, were once more a power in the land. It is noteworthy that at this disturbed period the tribal form of government revived in various parts of Northern India, tribal constitutions being formed in the Punjab and Rajputana as well as in Behar. After his marriage, Chandragupta, perhaps at first with the aid of the Lichchhavis, started on a remarkable career of conquest. So successful was he that before his death he had made himself the master of a kingdom stretching as far west as Allahabad and including large portions of Oudh and Behar. In consideration of his extensive dominions and his unbroken series of victories, he took the title of King of Kings and established an era, known as the Gupta Era, in honour of himself, dating from the year of his coronation in 320.

Samudra Gupta.—His son and successor, Samudra Gupta, who ascended the throne in the year 326, was an even greater soldier than his father, and his campaigns are astounding for their audacity. For the daring and skill with which he advanced into wild and distant countries Samudra Gupta is deserving of a place among the greatest of Indian kings. We are able to judge of his adventurous spirit for ourselves, for he has left upon one of Asoka's pillars, now standing in the fort at Allahabad, an inscription giving a detailed list of his conquests. It tells how he carried his victorious arms over the kingdoms of the Deccan as far as the Narbadda river, over Assam, Bengal and Orissa, and over the Mahratta country in the west, and northwards to the Himalayas. Only Sind and the Punjab and the south escaped his all-conquering army. He did not annex all the kingdoms which he conquered, but, even so, his dominions stretched from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and from the Chambal to the Delta of the Ganges. He was not a Buddhist, though tolerant of Buddhism, but an orthodox Hindu who payed great honour to Brahmans.

At their instigation on the occasion of his victorious return from the south he revived with unheard-of splendour the famous *aswamedha*, the horse sacrifice of Vedic days. Besides being a great soldier he was also a great patron of learning and the arts. On one of his coins he is represented as playing the lyre, and the inscription mentioned above speaks of his skill in music and song. After a long and prosperous reign he handed on the succession peacefully to his successor, Chandragupta II.

Chandragupta Vikramaditya. — Chandragupta II. ascended the throne about 375 A.D. and, like his father, spent the earlier part of his reign in warlike enterprise. First he put down a rising in Bengal with great vigour, and then he turned his attention to the independent kingdoms of the west. Malwa and Guzerat were quickly annexed, and Saurashtra, after a prolonged struggle, was forced at length to submit. The Saka kingdom of the Western Kshatrapas, which had endured for three hundred years amidst the surrounding turmoil, was thus at length destroyed. Twenty years had been spent in these campaigns ; but the prize of victory was worth having, for Chandragupta now held the great trading route through Malwa to the sea. Saurashtra was at this time the great emporium of trade, and through its ports flowed the exports and imports of Northern India. The title of Vikramaditya, Sun of Victory, which Chandragupta bestowed upon himself after his conquest of Saurashtra, was not altogether undeserved, for his empire was scarcely less than that of Asoka himself. Though Pataliputra remained officially the capital, Chandragupta removed the seat of his government, first to the ancient city of Ajodhya, and later to Kausambi, a place of great strategic importance, on the southern bank of the Jumna, commanding the high road through Malwa to the north. Chandragupta Vikramaditya inherited his father's literary and artistic tastes as well as his skill in war. He must too have possessed considerable ability as an administrator, for during his long reign of forty years his vast empire enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Fa Hian's Account of India. — During the reign of Chandragupta II., Fa Hian, a pious Chinese Buddhist, came on a pilgrimage to India to visit the hallowed spots

where Buddha had lived and taught, and to procure for his countrymen authentic copies of the Buddhist scriptures. He has written an account of his journey, and from it much valuable information can be gathered regarding the state of India at the time. He found Buddhism in a flourishing state and the country filled with monasteries. Buddhist monks were everywhere supported without stint ; but Hindu temples also had their votaries and in every large town flourished side by side with Buddhist monasteries. The Guptas were Hindus by religion and worshippers of Vishnu. It may be on this account that he passes them over ; for in his eyes they were heretics, and therefore unworthy of attention. But symptoms of the decay of Buddhism were not wanting, if he had had eyes to see them ; for the very places which had been the scenes of Buddha's life and teaching were for the most part neglected and their buildings in ruins. He found Srâvasti, the ancient capital of Kosala, which in Buddha's time had been a flourishing city, almost deserted. Kapilavastu, the birthplace of Buddha, was a scene of desolation. Kusinagara, where he died, was inhabited only by a few priests and their families. Gaya was deserted, and the holy spots in the neighbourhood were overgrown with jungle, though the Bodhi Tree was still standing and venerated. At Pataliputra he saw the ruins of Asoka's palace, and was much impressed with its magnificence even in decay. Close at hand there was a handsome monastery containing six or seven hundred monks. In some of the places which he visited Buddhism was still in a flourishing state. In the Deer Park near Benares, for instance, where the first sermon had been preached, the monasteries were liberally endowed and generously supported by the alms of the faithful. At Mathura, also, the monasteries were thriving, and in that part of the country and in Malwa Buddhism was prosperous enough.

Change in the character of Buddhism.—But Buddhism had undergone a change since the days of Asoka, and symptoms of degeneration had begun to manifest themselves. Gorgeous festivals, quite opposed to the spirit of the faith, had become recognised institutions, and image worship, for which no sanction could be found in the Buddhist scriptures, a universal practice. Fa Hian gives

an interesting account of a Buddhist procession which he saw while staying at Pataliputra. Twenty four-wheeled cars surmounted with gaudy imitation pagodas were dragged through the streets amid shouting crowds. At the four corners of each car were images of Buddha in a sitting posture, and round the pagodas under embroidered canopies were figures of the Devas adorned with ornaments of gold, silver and glass. All the day of the procession and the following night multitudes of gaily-dressed worshippers indulged in games and singing and dancing.

Corruption of the faith.—To such idolatrous pomp had the pure and simple faith of Buddha degenerated in the hands of its priests by the fifth century A.D. Just as the bright and cheerful Vedic religion of the early Aryan settlers had been smothered by the Brahman hierarchy of Kosala under a gorgeous ritual, so the light of Buddha's teaching was being in its turn extinguished by the priests under a mass of gaudy and idolatrous ceremonial. It may seem strange that Buddhism should have undergone so complete a transformation; but Buddhism being essentially a religion of the people, as opposed to Brahmanism, the religion of a caste, was very liable to be affected by current superstitions and to be influenced by the idol worship prevalent among non-Aryan peoples. The Buddhist priests, being in most cases ignorant men drawn from the people, were unable wholly to shake off their old associations and beliefs, and permitted, even if they did not encourage, practices which were more in accordance with demon-worship than with the new faith. It is an indication of the corruption of the faith that throughout the whole of Northern India there was no complete copy of the Buddhist scriptures to be found, but the Bikhus "trusted to tradition for their knowledge of the precepts."

The state of the Country.—Fa Hian's account of the condition of the places he visited is eloquent testimony to the goodness of the governments generally. Being a foreigner and a Buddhist he could appraise Hindu rule impartially. He found the people following peaceful pursuits undisturbed and he noticed that traders and pilgrims passed to and fro freely. In the large towns there were abundant evidences of prosperity, and charitable institu-

tions were numerous and well supported. At Pataliputra there was a noble hospital and dispensary at which the poor could receive medicine and attendance free of charge. Malwa seemed to him specially prosperous, and he notes with approval the gentleness of the people and the comparative mildness of the criminal law. Altogether from this traveller's account it may be gathered that India under the Guptas was prosperous and well-governed.

Kumara Gupta.—Chandragupta II. died in 413, and was succeeded by Kumâra Gupta, who reigned till 455. A temple inscription has been discovered bearing reference to this king. In it Kumâra Gupta is spoken of as "reigning over the whole earth"—an exaggerated testimony to the greatness of his dominions, but proving that his empire must have been of vast extent. Kumâra Gupta must have achieved some notable conquests, for he imitated his grandfather Chandragupta in celebrating the horse sacrifice; but the close of his reign was troubled by the invasions of fresh hordes of barbarians from the north and by the attacks of the Chalukyas, a rising power in the south-west.

The fall of the Gupta Empire.—Kumâra Gupta was succeeded by his son Skanda Gupta in 455. The new king inherited all the martial qualities of his line, but he had to contend with almost insurmountable difficulties. The White Huns, the name by which the fresh invaders from the north are known in history, had been repelled with difficulty by his father when they were still comparatively few, but they were now gathering again to the attack with greatly increased numbers. At the first encounter Skanda Gupta by a splendid feat of arms so completely defeated them that he gained a respite of several years. But about 470 they gathered head once more, and in pitched battle inflicted a crushing blow upon Skandagupta within the borders of his own dominions. He was soon in great straits for want of money to pay his troops, but he struggled gamely on, though losing ground steadily, till his death in 480. By no fault of his own he had left the empire too exhausted to recover, and it quickly dissolved. By the beginning of the sixth century it had suffered so much from the ravages of these barbarians that it was reduced to insignificance and soon after disappeared from history. Its

kings had been zealous Hindus, and it was during the time of their ascendancy that Buddhism began markedly to decline. Sanskrit learning revived under them, and the Sanskrit language, which through the influence of Buddhism had fallen much out of employment in favour of the vernaculars, once more came into general use among the learned.

The Huns.—The original home of the Huns seems to have lain somewhere between the Great Wall of China and the Caspian Sea. Being driven out thence, they settled in the neighbourhood of the Ural river. In the latter half of the fourth century A.D. they began a westward movement, and in less than a hundred years had overrun most of Central and Northern Europe. Under a dreaded leader, named Attila, they even laid at length the Roman Empire under tribute. But shortly after his death, which occurred in 453 A.D., dissensions broke out among their chiefs, and the nations of south-eastern Europe whom they had reduced to dependence, combining against them, so signally defeated them in one pitched battle that they never recovered from the effects of it. Their power was completely broken, and they rapidly dispersed, the majority of them returning to Central Asia.

Mihiragula.—Within a few years of this event, under a leader named Toramân, the Central Asian Huns, no doubt joined by the fugitives from Europe, swept down upon India, carrying all before them with resistless force. Toramân died about 510 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Mihiragula, who became even a greater scourge than his father. Wherever this ruthless and savage warrior passed he left behind him wide scenes of ruin and desolation to mark his victorious course. The Huns have won for themselves in history a name for unexampled cruelty and barbarity, but under Mihiragula they surpassed even their own record. His ferocious cruelties at length reached such a pitch that the princes of Northern India, sinking their mutual jealousies for once, combined against him. Baladitya, King of Magadha, and Yasodharman, King of Ujjain, placed themselves at the head of the league. The contending armies met at Kahror in 528 A.D., and Mihiragula was utterly defeated and taken prisoner.

The power of the Huns in India was completely broken by this blow, but with misplaced clemency the victors spared their captured foe and unwisely released him. Mihiragula took refuge in Kashmir at the invitation of the king of the country, who appears to have been himself a Hun. His host had soon reason to repent his kindness, for Mihiragula secretly collected a band of desperadoes, murdered the king and seized the throne. Then by treachery he made himself the master of the neighbouring kingdom of Gāndhara, and exterminated the royal family. Kashmir and Gandhara were at this time the principal strongholds of Buddhism, while Mihiragula claimed as a follower of Siva to be a Hindu. He therefore set fiercely about a systematic extermination of the cult by sacking temples and monasteries and massacring priests and worshippers wholesale. Fortunately for his subjects he died within the year of his usurpation, but within that short time he had wrought such havoc that Buddhism never recovered from the shock.

The legend of Vikramaditya.—A good deal of mystery surrounds the name of Yasodharman. On inscriptions which he has left he takes to himself the whole credit for the defeat of Mihiragula and claims to be the ruler of an empire more extensive than that even of the Guptas. But he is known from these inscriptions only. There is no mention elsewhere either of him or of his vast dominions. It is difficult to believe that the inscriptions are the vain and frantic boastings of an insignificant ruler anxious to deceive posterity, but it is still more difficult to believe that so mighty a monarch, as he claims to be, should have been so completely forgotten by history. Efforts have been made to identify Yasodharman with the famous Vikramaditya of Sanskrit literature, the perfect pattern of a Hindu king. Vikramaditya has been to Hindu story-tellers what King Arthur was to the bards and romancers of Western Europe in the middle ages. They have loved to bestow upon him every noble trait, and round his name there have gathered countless legends setting forth his valour and his piety. Just as Arthur, the British king, is fabled to have stemmed the tide of Saxon invasion, so Vikramaditya is related to have repelled the barbarians;

and just as Arthur's Court was the centre of culture and refinement, so Vikramaditya's Court was the resort of poets and scholars. He is said to have gathered round him nine pre-eminent men of letters, the Navaratna, or nine jewels of his court, amongst whom were Kâlidâs, the greatest of Sanskrit poets and dramatists, Varâhamihira the astronomer, Amara the lexicographer, and Vararuchi the grammarian. But whether all these four men were living in the time of Yasodharman, or were even contemporaries of one another, is more than doubtful—indeed such little evidence as there is seems rather to warrant a contrary opinion. Hindu writers, unwilling to allow their legendary national hero to be relegated altogether to the realms of fiction, have been anxiously in search of evidence to connect him with some historical personage, and they have fixed upon Yasodharman as the most likely, because he claims to have driven back the terrible Huns and to have ruled over a wide extent of Hindustan. It seems, however, more probable that the legends of Vikramaditya may have gathered round the name of Vikramaditya Chandragupta, or at any rate round some member of the famous dynasty of the Guptas.

Confusion in Northern India.—After the death of Yasodharman his kingdom must have rapidly declined, for very little is heard of Malwa subsequently. The period which follows is one of struggle for supremacy between the many petty kingdoms which had arisen out of the wreck of the Gupta Empire. The Huns still appear to have been giving trouble in the north; for, nearly fifty years after the battle of Kahror, Prabhâkara, King of Thaneswar, was engaged in conflict with them. Towards the close of his reign, his son Rajyavardhan, whom he had sent to command his army against the Huns, succeeded in reducing them to subjection, and from this time forward they are heard of no more in Indian history. They were in their turn entering now upon a desperate struggle in Central Asia for existence with a fresh horde of barbarians, the Turks, and they had no strength left for Indian enterprises.

Rise of Thaneswar.—Rajyavardhan peacefully ascended the throne; but he had hardly assumed the reins of

government when he was forced to march against the king of Malwa to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, the king of Kanauj, and to release from chains the queen, his sister. Rajyavardhan had no difficulty in disposing of his enemy, but in the hour of victory he unwisely accepted an invitation to a conference in the camp of Sasánka, the king of Western Bengal, an ally of the king of Kanauj, and was there treacherously murdered. At his death the succession passed by common consent to Siladitya, his younger brother, better known to history as Harsha, one of the most famous of Indian rulers.

Harshavardhan.—Harsha ascended the throne of Thaneswar in 606. His first task was to punish his brother's murderer, and he lost no time in marching into Bengal to attack Sasánka. This king was doubly abhorrent to him, for besides his guilt as the perpetrator of a treacherous crime he was a notorious persecutor of Buddhists, while Harsha was a staunch supporter of the faith. Sasánka had destroyed the Bodhi Tree at Gaya, desecrated shrines and holy relics, demolished convents and driven away the monks. There are no records of Harsha's campaign, but Sasánka was doubtless thoroughly humbled. Having dealt with Sasánka, Harsha embarked forthwith upon an extensive scheme of conquest. No Indian king has shown a greater persistency in war than he displayed. For thirty-five years he was almost constantly in the field and he did not rest till he had overcome all opposition from the Punjab to Assam.

Conflict with Pulikesin.—Harsha would have carried his victorious arms over the Deccan as well as over all Northern India had he not met with an unexpected check at the hands of Pulikesin II., king of the Chalukyas. Pulikesin's capital was at a place called Vatapi in what is now the district of Bijapur, and the Chalukyas were immigrants from the north, possibly Scythians, who had imposed themselves as a ruling race upon the Dravidians of that part of the country. Pulikesin II., whose reign commenced in 608, is one of the most renowned of Indian warriors, and at the time when Harsha attacked him he was at the zenith of his power and prestige. Despite Harsha's most strenuous exertions and his enormous and unbeaten

army Pulikesin successfully resisted him, and he was at length obliged to retire without having achieved anything. Thereafter for a time the two sovereigns practically divided India between them. Harsha's sovereignty was acknowledged from the Himalayas to the Narbada, while Pulikesin was the recognized suzerain of Southern India.

Houen Tsang.—During Harsha's reign another pious Chinese Buddhist, named Houen Tsang, made a pilgrimage to India, and he too, like Fa Hian, wrote an account of what he saw there. He arrived in India in 630, and remained in the country for fifteen years. Being a man of superior intelligence and broader views than Fa Hian his account is more reliable. It throws a flood of light upon a dark portion of the history of India, and affords much valuable information concerning the manners and customs of the time.

His travels.—Houen Tsang passed through Kandahar and Kabul on his way to India. In the country of Afghanistan Buddhism had degenerated into idolatry, and the stupas and images of Buddha had been invested with supernatural powers by the superstitious inhabitants. Many of the monasteries were deserted, and Hindu temples were springing up in all directions. In Kashmir, where he stayed two years, he found the two religions existing side by side, but Hinduism had now quite as strong a following as Buddhism. He has much to tell of Kanishka and the Great Buddhist Council held in his reign. Time had not yet obliterated the traces of the dread Mihirakula's devastating invasions, and the memory of them was still fresh in men's minds. It is significant of the steady decay of Buddhism that it had not recovered from the shocks of his invasions despite the lapse of more than a century. In Mathura, Buddhism had a strong following, but the great attention paid to outward forms and ceremonies was a symptom of decay. Next he visited Thaneswar, celebrated in the Mahabharata as the scene of the battle between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Near at hand, so he was told, were still to be seen the bones of the heroes scattered over the plain. If there were any bones visible, they could only have been those of men slain in some recent battle; but the existence of the tradition

points to a struggle having actually taken place, and is therefore evidence of the fact of the Kuru Panchala War. Curiosity led him to Hardwar, near the source of the Ganges, which had already become a great place of Hindu pilgrimage, and there he saw thousands of pilgrims bathing in the sacred stream. Very few in that part of the country followed the law of Buddha, and the land was full of Hindu temples.

His stay at Kanauj.—Thence he passed on to Kanauj, which Harsha had made his capital, and he was much impressed with the grandeur of the place. The city was surrounded by solid walls and deep ditches, and its wealth attracted foreign merchants from far and wide. The people were noble and gracious in appearance and famed for their learning and their piety, and their speech was considered the purest in Northern India. As Harsha was a zealous Buddhist, the faith was prospering in his kingdom, and there were several hundred monasteries maintained and thousands of Bikkhus. But even here Hinduism had a firm footing, and the people were almost equally divided between the two religions. Harsha, after the manner of Asoka, held quinquennial religious assemblies, forbade the killing of animals and provided hospitals and dispensaries throughout his kingdom. Later on, Houen Tsang had an opportunity of attending one of these quinquennial assemblies and the festival that followed it. For days continuously there were gorgeous processions in honour of Buddha, in which his image in gold was carried amid jewelled banners, embroidered umbrellas, clouds of incense and showers of flowers. The king scattered the wealth of his treasury broadcast among the people, and feasted every day Buddhist sages and Brahmans indiscriminately. The idolatrous pomp exceeded even that witnessed by Fa Hian. After the festival, an assembly of learned men was convened, Brahmans and Buddhists alike, and discussions were held on the merits of the two faiths. To commemorate the great occasion a tower was constructed on the banks of the Ganges ; but on the last day of the festival a fire broke out in it, and it was destroyed. According to Houen Tsang, this was the work of the Brahmans. Whether this were so or not, there was much distrust and ill-feeling existing

between the two sects. An attempt made upon the king's life during the festival was ascribed to Brahman plots, and led to the execution of some and the exile of other prominent Brahmans.

He visits Prayag.--Harsha was so greatly pleased with Houen Tsang and so deeply impressed with his learning and piety, that he persuaded him to accompany him to Prayag, the modern Allahabad, to witness another quinquennial festival held at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. Prayag was then as now a sacred city of the Hindus, and the immense multitude of pilgrims was doubtless mainly composed of them, for Buddhism had but a slight hold there. Harsha again distributed gifts with reckless profusion to religious persons of the different sects, though Buddhists naturally received the most; but it was noticeable that the ceremonies of the festival honoured Hinduism almost as much as Buddhism. As showing the reality and extent of Harsha's power, it may be observed that at both festivals he was accompanied by vassal kings from kingdoms as far distant as Kamarupa in Assam and Valabhi in Western India.

His pilgrimage through the Buddhist Holy Land.--Houen Tsang made an extensive tour during his stay in India, and it is clear from his account that Hinduism had made great headway since Fa Hian's time, even in the country where Buddha lived and taught. Sravasti, the capital of Kosala, was deserted and in ruins, and the neighbourhood round about was once more under Brahman influence. Kapilavastu and Kusinagara were desolate, forsaken even by the monks. Benares was full of Hindu temples, and had become, then as now, a centre of orthodox Hinduism. But in the Deer-park close at hand, where Buddha had preached his first sermon, there was still a magnificent monastery, built partly of stone and partly of brick, 200 feet high. It possessed a noble image of Buddha in copper, and was inhabited by 1500 monks. Pataliputra had almost disappeared; nothing but portions of the ruined outer wall remained. Close to Gaya, which had become a Brahman colony, was the spot made famous by the Bodhi Tree. The tree itself, or what remained of it after its destruction by Sasánka, was surrounded by

high brick walls, and all around were innumerable stupas and images of Buddha, many of which were believed to exercise miraculous powers. It was a place to which pilgrims flocked in thousands after the rainy season every year, to present their offerings, burn incense and deposit flowers. Near at hand was the stateliest and most beautiful of all the Buddhist monasteries. It was a monastery and temple combined, and had been built in former times by a king of Ceylon. Its exterior was a mass of ornamental work, and the utmost skill of the architect and the artist had been lavished upon it. Within was an image of Buddha in gold and silver adorned with precious stones. Close to Gaya was Nalanda, the famous Buddhist University, the ruins of which are still to be seen. It was the great seat of Buddhist learning, and was the resort of scholars and sages, Brahman and Buddhist alike, from all parts of India. The monastery was on a gigantic scale, and is said to have been capable of holding 10,000 monks, besides containing numerous lecture-rooms and halls for religious conferences. It was the last stronghold of Buddhism, and was still in Houen Tsang's time thronged with renowned teachers and multitudes of students. The Chinese pilgrim was met on his arrival and escorted to the monastery by 200 monks, and welcomed by a great assembly within its walls. A lodging was allotted to him in one of the buildings, and there he stayed five years till he had mastered the Buddhist Scriptures and acquired some knowledge of the Sanskrit literature of the Brahmans.

He resumes his travels.—He thereafter proceeded on his travels again and passed through Bengal, then divided into five petty kingdoms, on to Orissa. In the latter kingdom Buddhism was the prevailing religion, and there were a hundred monasteries, and thousands of monks. Puri was a famous place of Buddhist pilgrimage, but not then as now so much frequented by Hindu pilgrims.

The kingdom of Kalinga which had been conquered by Asoka had sunk to insignificance, and much of the country was overgrown with jungle. Berar, which was then known as Kosala, but must be distinguished from the ancient kingdom in the north, was ruled over by a Kshattriya king, who honoured the laws of Buddha. Houen Tsang

speaks of a rock-cut monastery there which was the wonder of all India. In his time it was in ruins, and a story was told that it had been wrecked by the Brahmans. The tale is a further indication of the growing hostility between the two religions.

The country over which the powerful Andhras had held sway, which he next visited, had greatly declined in prosperity. In this ancient stronghold of Buddhism, the Hindu temples now outnumbered the Buddhist monasteries. There were many temples of the Hindus, but the Buddhist convents for the most part were deserted and the priests ignorant and dirty. Next he visited Kânci, the modern Conjeeveram, then one of the finest cities in India and the capital of Dravida, a kingdom that may be identified with the ancient Chola kingdom. He was much impressed with the beauty of its buildings and the enlightenment of its people. Buddhism flourished there, and he saw hundreds of monasteries and thousands of priests. Turning northwards, he took his way along the Western Ghats to Maharashtra. It had long been a powerful and important kingdom, and he mentions that Pulikesin its ruler had successfully withstood the all-conquering armies of Harsha. Houen Tsang gives an account of the character of the people which does credit to his powers of observation. He speaks of their impetuosity in war, their impulsiveness, their pride and their vindictiveness, traits for which in after days the race became conspicuous.

From thence he journeyed on to Malwa, and there he found many monasteries and 2000 Buddhist priests. But it is probable that Hinduism was the prevailing religion, for he mentions that the Brahmans were very numerous. He speaks in glowing terms of the inhabitants, and says that they were renowned in Western India for their learning and politeness. Gujerat was the last place of importance visited by him. A new kingdom had arisen there, called the Valabhi kingdom, on the ruins of the kingdom of Saurashtra. The king was closely related to Harsha and was a zealous Buddhist; but Hinduism had many followers in the kingdom. The people were polite and learned, like those of Malwa, and had amassed great

wealth in trade. From very ancient days there had been famous trading centres in Gujrat, and Indian merchants had carried on an export and import trade from the ports of Roruka and Bharukachcha (Bharoch) with places as far distant as Babylon and Burmah. Valabhi, like Saurashtra before it, was at that time the chief emporium of foreign trade.

Decline of Buddhism.—In Houen Tsang's account we may note the general decline of Buddhism in India and the rising tide of Hinduism. He has unconsciously indicated for us some of the causes of that decline. The faith had grown corrupt in the hands of illiterate priests. By the majority of the clergy and laity the ethics of Buddha's teaching had been forgotten. The simple story of his life had been so surrounded by legends and miraculous tales that its significance was obscured. The divine honours paid to his rélies and the mysterious powers attributed to them and to his image were idolatrous practices utterly at variance with the true doctrine. In short, to all but a few the spirit of the faith was dead, and Buddhism, like Vedic Hinduism before it, had become a mere husk of religion. The monastic system, which in its infancy had been its strength, had grown to unwieldy proportions. The monasteries had become wealthy corporations, and those who joined the order of Bikkhus were often idle, dissolute and avaricious. The people, left without spiritual guidance, were slipping back into the old superstitions, the devil worship and the witchcraft which Buddhism had never really succeeded in expelling.

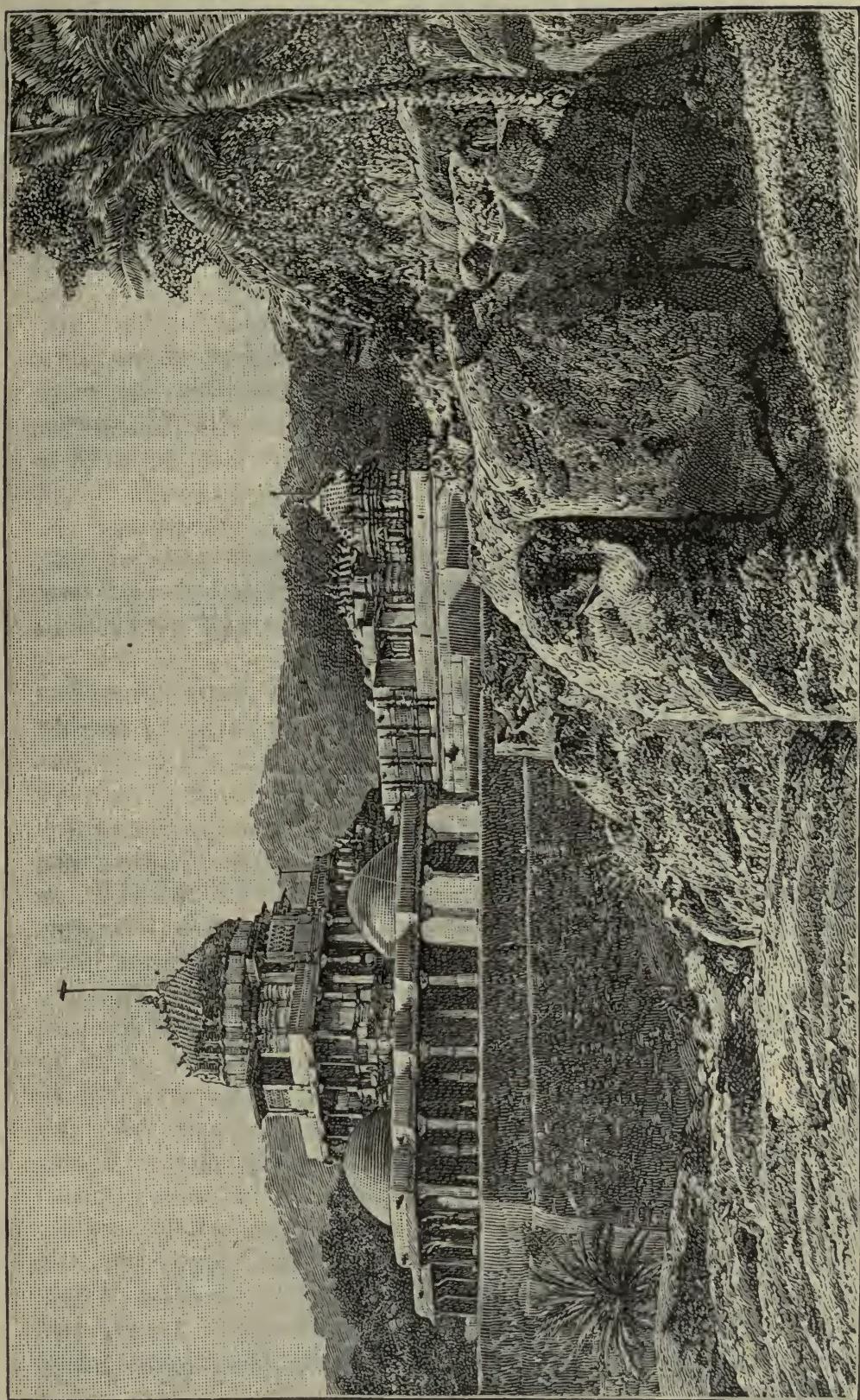
The new Hinduism.—It may seem at first sight surprising that Hinduism should have been able to undermine Buddhism and impose again, but with far greater severity, the shackles of caste upon the people. But when we realize what the new Hinduism was, and how Buddhism had ceased to stimulate religious fervour among its followers, we shall not wonder that the latter eventually succumbed. During the long period in which Buddhism was in the ascendant the Brahmans were putting into practice the lesson that their deposition had taught them. If they were to regain their lost authority, they could only do so by

popularising their faith. They therefore set to work to make their religion acceptable to all classes of the people. By incorporating into it current superstitions and local religious practices they succeeded at length in devising a system which, while it made room for religious forms and beliefs peculiar to different peoples and districts, preserved such of the traits of Hinduism as would enable those of widely different creeds to recognize each other as belonging essentially to the same religion. In their hands a religious system was developed so elastic and so far-reaching that every sect, caste, tribe or people might find represented in it its own religious views. Buddhism itself was largely drawn upon in the process of construction; so that to this day, though expelled as a religion from the country, its influence is strongly marked upon the character of the system which has supplanted it. Even savage aboriginal superstitions were not discarded; so that in its lower forms Hinduism is tainted with aboriginal demon-worship, and wild rites and gross and fantastic forms of idolatry have crept into it bodily or left their mark upon it.

Failure of Buddhism as a popular religion.—To people so prone to superstition and so credulous as the bulk of the natives of India, an impersonal faith such as Buddhism could not carry strong conviction. A system which taught that mankind, independently of the gods, could work out its own salvation was at variance with immemorial belief in the power of spirits capable of influencing the destiny of man. While Buddhism was the religion of mighty kings and princes, the people outwardly conformed to it, but it need not be doubted that they still remained a prey to their old superstitions. When Buddhism, in its struggle to maintain its waning popularity, began to make concessions to idolatry and compromises with spirit-worship, it was attempting to fight its more adaptable rival on its own ground. Hinduism could incorporate old forms of belief without losing in the process its essential characteristics, but Buddhism could not do so without sapping the very foundations of its teaching.

Want of political unity in India.—From Houen Tsang's description of Indian society we may gather that the races of India were on the whole learned and polite

JAIN TEMPLE AT MOUNT ABOO.



and justified the esteem in which they were held by foreigners who came in contact with them. But political unity was unknown among them. Such union as there was at any time did not rest upon a stable and far-reaching form of government, but upon the prowess of some great leader who compelled his neighbours to recognize his suzerainty. Empires therefore, as soon as the reigning monarchy showed signs of weakness, fell to pieces as quickly as they had arisen. The petty kingdoms of which they were composed, being mere tributaries, independent of the central authority in matters of internal administration, were always ready to revolt as soon as they thought themselves strong enough to do so ; while the people, having no political life, were scarcely affected by a change of rule. But this very lack of political life served to strengthen the bonds of religion and to preserve ancient customs and beliefs ; and to it may perhaps be attributed the fact that there are no more conservative peoples in the world than those of Hindustan.

The administration of Harsha's empire.—The civil government in Harsha's day seems to have favourably impressed the Chinese pilgrim, just as that of the Guptas had impressed Fa Hian ; but the roads were not so safe for travellers and the punishment of crime had grown much harsher. Mutilation was inflicted for many offences, and prisoners were left to die unless cared for by relations or friends. The foolish practice of subjecting accused persons to trial by ordeal was commonly resorted to, and many innocent persons after suffering torture must have been unjustly condemned. But property rights were carefully respected, officials were paid by assignments of land instead of being left to live upon the people, and taxation was not burdensome. The ordinary land revenue assessment was one sixth of the gross produce. The picture painted by Houen Tsang of the manners and customs of India in his times nevertheless shows no general advance of civilization from earlier days but rather in some respects a retrogression. Perhaps the havoc and confusion wrought by the terrible White Huns had resulted in a set-back in Northern India, and the people inured to scenes of cruelty had grown less humane.

Death of Harsha.—Harsha died about 648 A.D. after reigning for 50 years. He had been a great king, and his authority had been respected far and wide. He was a man of learning as well as of piety and encouraged learned men to come to Kanauj. Bânahatta, one of the greatest of Indian poets, flourished at his court, and he himself under the name of Sriharsha is supposed to be the author of the famous Sanskrit drama *Ratnâvali*. But his religious zeal had led him in his later years into the folly of deliberately squandering the resources of the state to gain religious merit, and when he died he left an empty treasury to his successor. Disorder quickly followed, aggravated by a severe famine, and in the confusion Arjuna, who had been Harsha's minister, usurped the throne.

Wang Houen Tse.—Arjuna was a keen supporter of Brahmanism and very hostile to Buddhists. It so happened that soon after his accession a Chinese Buddhist mission headed by Wang Houen Tse, the friend and companion in his wanderings of Houen Tsang arrived in his dominions. Arjuna, against all the laws of hospitality and in defiance of the comity of nations, seized and put to death every member of the mission upon whom he could lay his hands; but Wang Houen Tse escaped to Nepal. The rulers of Nepal and Thibet, who were zealous Buddhists, incensed at the outrage to their faith, made common cause in assisting the Chinese envoy to avenge it. With a small force of sturdy mountaineers Wang Houen Tse encountered an army many times its size, led by Arjuna himself, in Tirhut and utterly defeated him; in a second battle he took the king prisoner; in a third he captured the whole of his family; and then a regular reduction of the fortifications of the kingdom took place. The fierce hill-men, let loose upon the country, took signal vengeance for Arjuna's crime, many massacres occurred and great quantities of booty and numberless slaves were carried off by them on their retirement. Arjuna was led away captive to China and never heard of again. Later, when Wang Houen Tse returned to India at the head of another mission, the lesson was not forgotten, no opposition was offered to his passage, and he was allowed to visit the holy places without molestation. With these amazing incidents the

curtain drops over the scene, and the history of Northern India becomes a blank for nearly a couple of hundred years. We may now conveniently turn our attention to affairs in Southern India.

TABLE OF DATES OF LATER BUDDHIST PERIOD.

	A.D.
Gondophares, the Parthian	27
Kadphises I.	45
Saka Era commences	78
Kadphises II.	85
Embassy to Rome	99
Nahapana	119
Kanishka	125
Third Buddhist Council	140
Rudradaman of Saurashtra	150
Establishment of Gupta Era	320
Samudra Gupta	326
Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya	375
Kumara Gupta	413
Skanda Gupta	455
Defeat of Skanda Gupta by the White Huns	470
Mihiragula	510
Battle of Kahror	528
Harsha ascends the throne of Thaneswar	606
Pulikesin II., king of the Chalukyas	608
Arrival in India of Houen Tsang	630
Arjuna usurps the throne	648
Wang Houen Tse defeats Arjuna	650

CHAPTER V.

SOUTHERN INDIA.

Andhras and Pallavas.—Very little is known of the history of Southern India during the Buddhist Age. A bewildering list of names and dates has been compiled from coins and inscriptions, but hardly anything worth recording regarding the kings and peoples referred to in either has survived. The Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas continued long after the Christian Era to share with varying fortune the southern extremity between them, but towards the middle of the second century a new kingdom, that of the Pallavas, with its capital at Kanchi, rose to prominence and overshadowed them. The Pallavas are spoken of as foreigners, and there are good reasons for thinking that they found their way into India along with the Sakas and wandered or were driven south by them. Samudra Gupta claims in his inscription upon the Asoka pillar to have conquered the Pallavas when he raided Southern India. By far the most powerful of the early kingdoms of the south had been that of the Andhras, which has already been mentioned more than once. At one time it must have covered all Central India, from the Indian Ocean to the Bay of Bengal. The capital was at a place called Dhanyakataka on the banks of the river Krishna. Beyond the fact that the Andhras carried on an extensive trade through their seaports with most of the important countries of the then known world, and that scattered over the whole of their dominions are innumerable Buddhist stupas, some of which are among the noblest examples of the Indian stone-cutter's art, there is nothing to chronicle that has not been related in the previous chapter. It is probable that the Andhra kingdom gradually fell to pieces in the early centuries of the Christian Era under repeated attacks by Sakas on the north and Pallavas on the south. The latter undoubtedly seized upon much of the southern territory, and by the beginning of the fifth century the Andhras had

disappeared and the Pallavas had become the most powerful state in Southern India.

The Chalukyas.—The history of the south appears to have been from earliest times one of constant internecine strife between the many kingdoms among whom the country was divided, and, as in Northern India, first one and then another gained supremacy over the rest, but no power was able long to maintain its superiority. The supremacy of the Pallavas was short-lived, for before the close of the sixth century a new kingdom, that of the Chalukyas, with its capital at Vatapi, the modern Badami, had wrested it from them. The Chalukyas were, as has been stated, of foreign, probably of Scythian, origin. Their most famous ruler was Pulikesin II., who reigned from 609 to 642 and successfully withstood, it will be remembered, the victorious Harsha; but his father Kirttivarma, who reigned from 566 to 597, also deserves a passing mention, for he conquered no less than seventeen kingdoms of the south. During the reign of Pulikesin his brother succeeded in establishing a new Chalukya kingdom to the eastward with its capital at Vengi, and thereafter the two kingdoms are distinguished as the Eastern and Western Chalukyas. The Chalukyas were followers of Vishnu, and it is noteworthy that about this time Buddhism began rapidly to decline in Southern India. The greatness of Pulikesin is testified to by the fact that the ruler of the mighty Persian Empire, Khusrū II., not only received with all honour an embassy from him but despatched one to him in return. But Pulikesin was not destined to end his reign gloriously, for a confederacy headed by the Pallavas was formed against him, defeated him in a great pitched battle and then sacked and burnt his capital. For thirteen years Vatapi was deserted, but Vikramaditya, the son of Pulikesin, having gradually restored the kingdom, routed the Pallavas and captured Kanchi, their capital, in the year 655.

The Rashtrakutas and Cholas.—The Pallavas and Western Chalukyas continued to war with each other during succeeding reigns with varying fortune, but in 740 Vikramaditya II., the Chalukya ruler, heavily defeated the Pallavas and once more captured Kanchi. The Western

Chalukyas had, however, hardly emerged from the conflict when they were in their turn overwhelmed by a fresh rival, the Rashtrakutas of Northern Maharashtra. It is a curious fact worth noting in the history of Southern India that kingdoms, after being practically extinguished, frequently revived again. The Western Chalukyas, for example, two hundred years later, once more became the paramount power in the south, and the Pallavas, notwithstanding crushing defeats, were still strong enough to maintain throughout the eighth century the struggle with the Rashtrakutas, the temporary successors of their old enemy, the Chalukyas. The Eastern Chalukyas seem to have been able to hold their own against the new power, for at the end of the eighth century they divided with the Rashtrakutas Central India from sea to sea. The ancient kingdoms of the south continued to drag on, though one or other was constantly in danger of extinction. The Cholas, however, at the close of the tenth century, under an able ruler, Rajaraja, rose again to prominence, overran most of Southern India and even conquered Ceylon. The three southern kingdoms, it should be noted, unlike their northern neighbours, remained purely Dravidian states, and at no time in their history were foreigners able to impose themselves upon them as a ruling race.

RAJPUT ASCENDENCY.

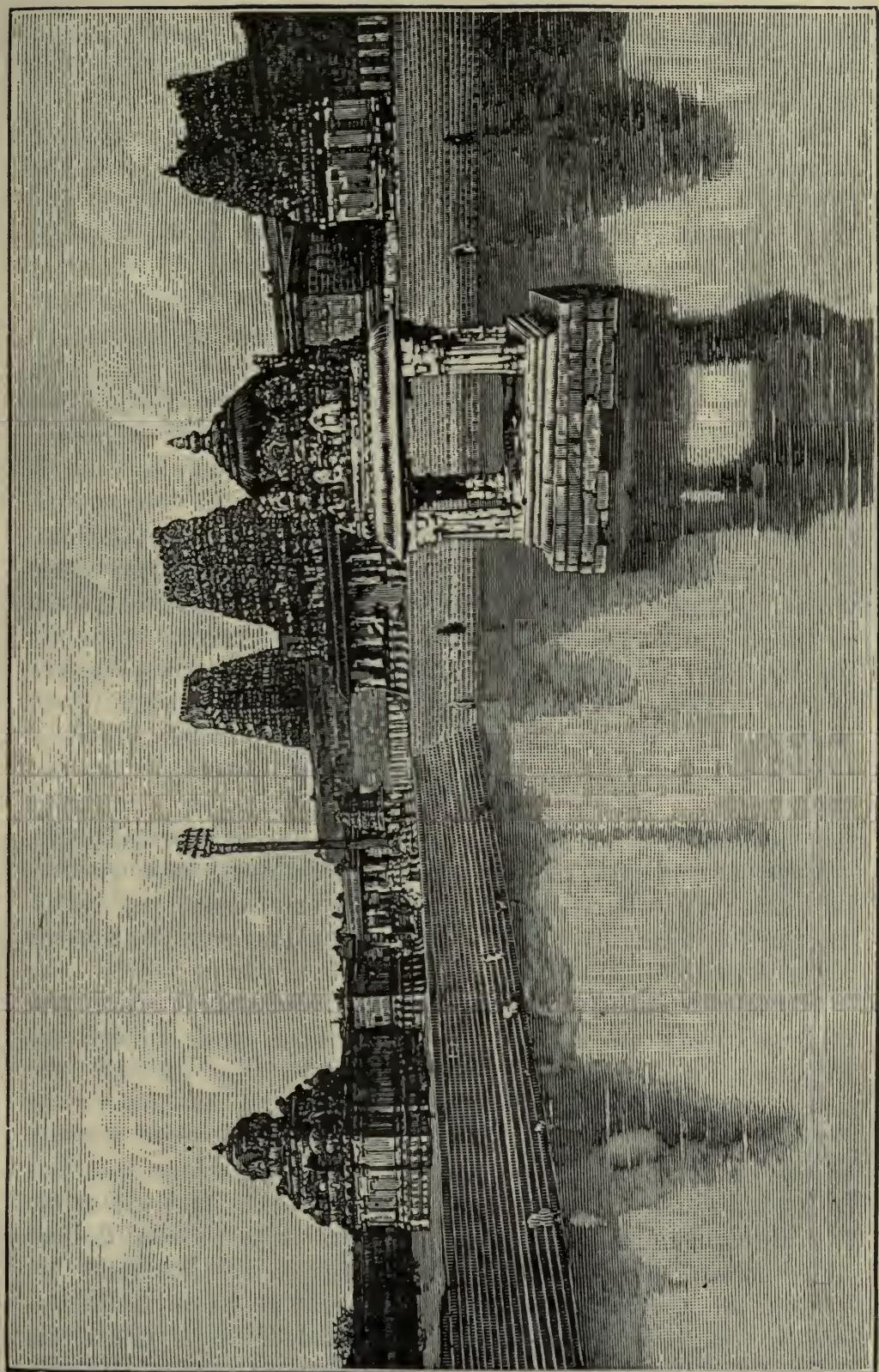
The Rajputs.—With the fall of Harsha's empire the history of Northern India, as we have already observed, practically ceases for two hundred years. The records of what happened during these centuries are scarce and meagre, and the literary remains do not guide us in reconstructing the history of that time. All that we know is that at the end of it Buddhism has almost been swept out of the land, and a new power, that of the Rajputs, has arisen. Who these Rajputs were is a mystery, but there are grounds for believing that they were of mixed descent, partly native and partly foreign, and that many of them had Scythian blood running in their veins. They are spoken of in the legend which gives an account of their origin as sprung from four Kshattriyas, re-created

in order to drive out the enemies of the Vedas. By the enemies of the Vedas it is thought that the Buddhists are meant, and as Buddhism expressly denied the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices for salvation, it is possible that this is so. Like the Aryans before them, the Scythians in time lost their identity by becoming merged in the peoples among whom they lived. But they infused some of their warlike qualities into the mixed race descended from them, and thus wherever they settled the people exhibited a prouder and more martial spirit.

The Chalukyas and the Pallavas are examples of the way in which in Southern India the union of natives and foreigners was being effected, and in Northern India the same process was at work. Whether or not the Rajputs really had a common origin they came at length to look upon themselves as being closely allied in blood, and by intermarriage and the adoption of common codes of honour and custom they formed themselves into a class apart. It was soon the ambition of nobles and ruling families to gain recognition as Rajputs or "sons of kings," and thus over Northern and Western India there arose a multitude of ruling clans or families claiming to belong to the same knightly order. A kind of Indian chivalry was thus instituted which produced a remarkable spirit of adventure and warlike enterprise.

Persecution of the Buddhists.—The Rajputs were the self-constituted champions of Hinduism, and in their zeal for the faith they had adopted they were prepared to take any measures that were necessary to stamp out Buddhism. There can be little doubt that they resorted to violent means to achieve their object, and that where they found the Buddhists obdurate, they did not scruple to massacre the priests, raze their monasteries to the ground, and destroy their images and stupas. To this work they were instigated by the Brahmans, and it is probable that for their services in re-establishing Hinduism, the Brahmans rewarded them by inventing the fiction alluded to above, that they were miraculously sprung from the Kshattriya race. As early as the 8th century, Kumarila Bhatta, a Deccan Brahman and a great controversial writer who laid

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the foundations of Modern Hinduism, had openly advocated force if arguments were of no avail in combatting Buddhism.

Sankara Acharya.—While the Rajputs were expelling Buddhism by force, a champion of Hinduism arose in Southern India and started a religious movement which did even more than Rajput persecution to sweep Buddhism out of India. Sankara Acharya, who was born in Malabar in 788 A.D. was a profound Sanscrit scholar, a deep philosophical thinker, and a great preacher. During his short life of thirty-two years he wandered from place to place preaching against Buddhism, and propounding his Vedantic philosophy with its doctrine of the one Supreme Being, till he stirred up a revolution second only to that of Buddha. His teaching spread throughout the length and breadth of India, and in the hands of his disciples the form of Hinduism which he preached became one of the most widely adopted in the country. But though Sankhara Acharya condemned Buddhism, he wisely decided to adopt the monastic system which had been so important a feature of that religion, and had helped so much to give stability to the faith in its early days. The sect of Hinduism which he founded therefore has its monks and monasteries and observes many of the regulations which Buddha formulated for the use of the Bikkhus. The value of the monastic system as a means of propagating Hinduism was quickly perceived by others, and many orders soon arose, representing different phases of Hinduism, with branches in various parts of the country.

Puranik Hinduism.—The new Hinduism which the Rajputs were so zealous in spreading, and which the Brahmans had been so patiently constructing through the many centuries that Buddhism prevailed, is known as Puranic Hinduism, and differs in many points from the old Vedic Hinduism. Two points require special notice, one being the change in the conception of deity, and the other the change in the form of worship. The Vedic deities representing the phenomena of nature, as the sun, the clouds, the sky and fire, were relegated in Puranic Hinduism to the position of minor gods, and in their place was substituted the Supreme Being in his triple form of Brahma

the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. The conception of a Supreme Being is as old as the Rig Veda, but this three-fold division of his powers arose during the Buddhist era. Under one or other of these names the deity came at some time to be worshipped. But Brahma was soon neglected, and Hindus by the time of the Rajput supremacy were mainly divided into Vaisnavas, or followers of Vishnu, and Saivas, or followers of Siva. Within these two main divisions many sects sprang up, ranging from the highest to the most degraded forms of worship. The works which glorify the Supreme Spirit under his three manifestations are called the Puranas, because they profess to contain the *old* Vedic faith ; though as a matter of fact they have little in common with it. As we might expect from their origin, they exalt the Brahman at the expense of the lower castes ; but they do not make the mistake of ignoring the low caste man altogether, for they are an attempt to fit religion to all classes of the people. Every phase of Hinduism is represented in them, from the highest ethical teaching and the purest conceptions of deity to the crudest and most degrading superstitions of the non-Aryan.

As regards the change in the form of worship, it will be remembered that in the old Vedic days the Aryan householder, when performing religious services to the gods, offered sacrifices in the fire of his own hearth. Up till the time of Buddhism image worship was not recognised by the Brahman hierarchy, nor had temples become essential for the worship of the gods. But by the time of the Rajputs, temples and the adoration of images had superseded the older forms of worship by the domestic fireside. It is hardly necessary to point out how much the building of temples, and the setting up of idols strengthened the hold of the priests upon the people. They were now, more than ever, the custodians of the national religion, and the people venerated them almost as blindly as the idols they guarded. To give money or bequeath land for the support of priests and temples were looked upon as acts of peculiar sanctity, and it was regarded as a duty incumbent upon all worshippers to make offerings according to their means at the shrine of the god whom they had come to venerate. In the course of centuries the temples amassed

by such means great riches, and a large proportion of the wealth of the country became devoted to religious uses.

Brahman supremacy re-established.—Thus, though the history of Northern India is almost a blank from the 8th till the latter half of the 10th century, it is possible to infer from the events which preceded and succeeded this period, the condition of the country during it. The old powerful kingdoms decayed, and with their decay Buddhism, which they had always tolerated if not actually patronised, was swept, not without violence, from the land. When the curtain rises again, the brave and haughty Rajputs are in possession of the ancient capitals of Northern India, and Brahman supremacy has been completely re-established.

BOOK II.—THE MUHAMMEDAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

AFGHAN RULE.

Islam.—At the time when the Rajputs were making themselves the masters of Northern India and Puranic Hinduism was everywhere replacing Buddhism, a new religion was steadily spreading from its home in Arabia over the neighbouring countries. Islam, as it was called, was the very opposite of Buddhism, both in its teaching and the methods it adopted to make converts. While Buddhism made light of gods, and taught that man independently of them could work out his own salvation, the formula of Islamic faith was “There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His prophet.” Buddhists were strictly enjoined to use none but peaceful means to spread their gospel, and to be tolerant in their dealings with those who held other religious beliefs. Muhammedans were restrained by no such injunctions, and even during the lifetime of the founder Islam had become a militant faith and a strong incentive to conquest.

Arab triumphs.—A religion of such fiery energy was well adapted to the natures of the fierce and impulsive Arabs. They eagerly embraced it, and thereby were, for the first time, united together into one people. Made strong by faith, and filled with holy zeal, they poured out under the white banners of their religion upon the neighbouring countries. They were naturally a brave, hardy, and warlike people, but religious enthusiasm welded them into an irresistible conquering force; and within a hundred years of the death of Muhammad, so great

was the success of their arms, that they had already reached the borders of India.

Conquest of Sind.—Scarcely then had Hinduism emerged from its struggle with Buddhism before it was called upon to fight for its very existence with a formidable and openly aggressive rival. The first warnings of the coming storm occurred in Sind. Desultory inroads of Arabs had taken place during the seventh century, but these had been mere plundering raids, and no attempt had been made to effect a permanent settlement. But in 712 a determined and successful effort was made to gain a footing in the country. A youthful general, Muhammad son of Kasim, led an organised expedition against Dahir, the Rajput ruler of lower Sind, to punish him for the destruction of a force sent to demand compensation for the seizure of an Arab ship. After reducing the surrounding country he forced the king to take refuge in Alor, his capital, and there besieged him. The Hindus defended the city with obstinate valour till Dahir was slain and the provisions began to run short. Further resistance being vain, the women and children, it is said, preferring death to dishonour and slavery, with desperate resolution flung themselves upon a huge pyre and perished in its flames; while the men, rather than yield, rushed out upon the overwhelming numbers of the besiegers and fell fighting sword in hand. Muhammad after this soon reduced Sind and Multan, and the Hindus had to submit to Moslem rule and to pay tribute. Those who would not embrace Islam were also forced to pay a poll tax, but were otherwise tolerantly treated. Two and a half years after his conquest of Sind Muhammad was recalled by the Muhammedan Governor of Persia, whose displeasure he had incurred, and was put to death. The subsequent history of Sind for many years is a succession of Hindu revolts and quarrels and intrigues among the Muslim governors; but the power of the Rajputs had been too greatly shattered by Muhammad's invasion to revive, and Sind, though insecurely held by the conquerors, was never able to shake off their yoke completely.

Continued ascendancy of Rajputs.—After this India had peace from Muhammedan invasion till the end

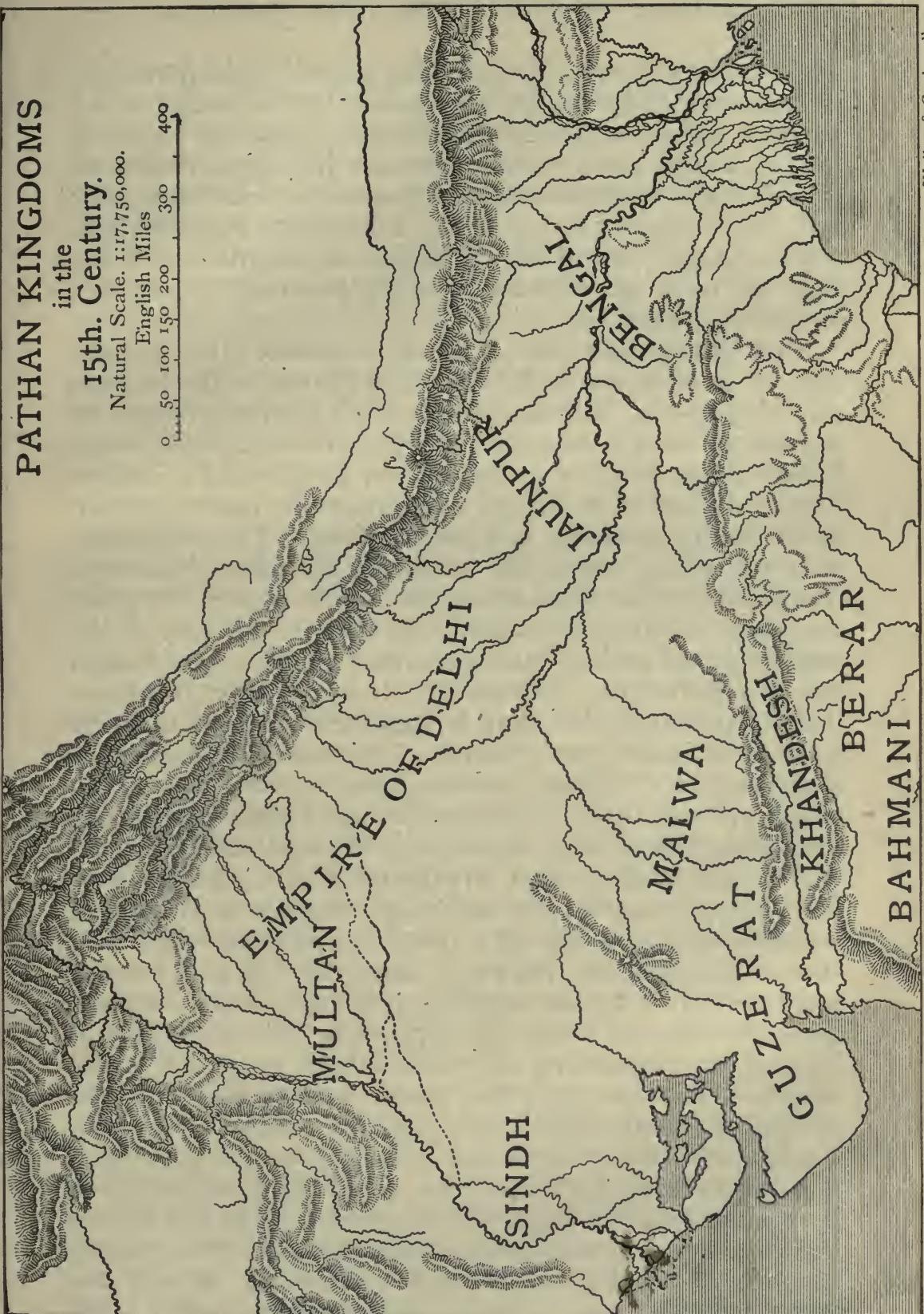
PATHAN KINGDOMS

in the

15th. Century.

Natural Scale. 1:17,750,000.

English Miles
0 50 100 150 200 300 400



of the tenth century. During this period the Rajputs continued to extend their conquests, and by the end of it the whole of Western and North-Western India was ruled by Rajput kings and princes. Puranic Hinduism flourished greatly under their patronage. Tales and legends multiplied, and the worship of Krishna, the hero of the Mahabharata, and Rama, the hero of the Rāmayana, as incarnations of the supreme being now became widely prevalent among the sect of the Vaisnavas.

The influence of Kanauj.—Amidst the general anarchy in Northern India caused by the rise of the Rajputs the kingdom of Kanauj managed to survive, though its boundaries were constantly shifting and its dynasties short-lived. The city grew and prospered greatly and it became during the period of Rajput ascendancy the centre of civilization and religious life in Northern India. Under Bhoja I., who was ruling about the middle of the ninth century, it reached the zenith of its fame. Its wealth acquired by trade was vast, its temples magnificent, and its priesthood the acknowledged arbiter in all social and religious questions in the Hindu world. It was here that the new Hinduism had its principal seat, and it was here too that the new system of caste was evolved. Hitherto caste had been a division of the people arising mainly out of the Aryan pride of race and the development within the Aryan community itself of an aristocracy of priests and warriors. But the old distinction of Aryan and Non-Aryan had been long forgotten under the unifying influence of Hinduism, and caste had now become a purely social distinction. For their own ends the Brahman hierarchy felt it necessary to preserve this ancient institution, for upon its continuance their predominant authority depended. The Brahmans of Kanauj were therefore not content with enjoining purity of blood, to strengthen the bonds of caste they imposed scrupulous adherence to fixed rules of occupation as well. Under their leadership a new principle became henceforth a basis of caste distinction, the principle of classification by occupation, and those who followed a particular calling began to form themselves into a separate caste with customs peculiar to themselves. So great at length became the prestige of Kanauj in social and religious matters that

Brahmans were invited by kings to migrate from it to kingdoms so far distant as Guzerat, Bengal and Orissa, to re-organize society upon the model of Kanauj. Thus through the influence of Kanauj the new Hinduism spread to the four corners of India, and caste divisions grew and multiplied everywhere exceedingly.

Pathan invasion of the Punjab.—But all the while Moslem power was extending and closing in on India. At last, in 979, Jaipal, the Rajput Prince of Lahore, precipitated the conflict by marching an army up the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan, to exact compensation from Sabuktigin, the Muhammedan King of Ghazni, for raids on Indian territory committed by Afghans dwelling on the frontier. The Hindus suffered severely from the intense cold of that mountainous region, and after many had perished in a terrible snow-storm, they were so dispirited that Jaipal was forced to retrace his steps. The Afghans now pressed close upon his army, and also cut off his retreat by seizing the passes ahead. Jaipal was forced to surrender, to save his army from annihilation, and had to agree to pay a large indemnity to Sabuktigin before he was allowed to return with the remnant of his troops to India. The sum was more than he could pay at the time, and he promised to send the remainder when he returned to Lahore. But, in the security of his capital, he refused to fulfil his promise, and even flung into prison the men whom Sabuktigin had sent to fetch the money. This rash act drew upon India the second invasion and led to all its dire consequences. Sabuktigin promptly descended upon him to avenge the insult, and, though the neighbouring Rajput princes came to Jaipal's assistance, he was defeated and the province of Peshawar wrested from him. Sabuktigin returned to Ghazni, where he died in 997. Though he never returned to India, he maintained a strong garrison at Peshawar to hold the further end of the Khyber Pass. Thus by the folly of an Indian king was India deprived of her natural defence against a northern invader.

Mahmud of Ghazni.—Sabuktigin was succeeded by his son Mahmud, who, when little more than a child, had already proved himself a daring warrior and a skilful general. The first two years of his reign were spent in consolidating his power, a task in which he showed great administrative

ability. His father's expedition against Jaipal had proved that the undisciplined valour of the Hindus could not withstand a well-delivered attack, and the stories of the fabulous wealth of Hindu kings had excited his avarice. He therefore turned his attention as soon as he had leisure to this rich field of enterprise, and in the year 1001 led the first of his many expeditions into India. Jaipal, his father's enemy, with a number of petty chiefs marched out to meet him. The opposing armies met near Peshawar, and the Hindus were signally defeated. Jaipal escaped from the battle, but was pursued and overtaken by Mahmud at the Sutlej. On payment of a large ransom and the promise of an annual tribute, he was released ; and Mahmud, satisfied with the amount of plunder he had taken, returned to Ghazni. But the proud Rajput would not survive his double defeat, and, having made over his kingdom to his son Anangpal, mounted the funeral pyre and perished in its flames.

Signal defeat of the Hindus.—During the next few years Mahmud paid three brief visits to India—two to collect arrears of tribute and one to punish a rebellious chief in Multan. Anangpal, although a tributary of Mahmud, had been concerned in the Multan rising. Mahmud's next expedition was therefore directed against him, and in 1009 he appeared with a large force of horse and foot at Peshawar. Anangpal, who had had timely warning of his approach, had meanwhile summoned all the powerful princes of Northern India to his aid, pointing out to them the necessity of combining against their common enemy. The kings of Delhi and Kanauj, of Ujjain and Gwalior, besides a host of petty princes, hurried to his assistance, realising that a national crisis had arisen, and that the coming struggle would be one between Islam and Hinduism. Northern India was now fully alive to the danger to which it was exposed, and bands of warriors flocked from all directions to the Punjab ; while women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments, and laboured at the loom to assist the holy cause. Mahmud was alarmed at the enormous and well-equipped host gathering before him, and, afraid to assume the offensive, entrenched himself at Bhatindah. The armies are said to have been encamped facing each other for forty days.

Then the Hindus, growing impatient, attacked, using the same formation as Porus had used against Alexander, and with the same disastrous result. The elephants took fright, and, turning, trampled down the men behind them. Mahmud's cavalry followed close upon them, and, dashing in upon the broken ranks of the Hindus, inflicted terrible slaughter upon them, and scattered them in flight. Hindustan now lay at Mahmud's mercy, but he contented himself for the present with the sack of the wealthy temple of Nagarkote in Kangra, and returned to Ghazni.

Thanesar plundered.—His next expedition of importance, undertaken ostensibly in the cause of religion, was against Thanesar in 1014. After a brief defence this ancient and wealthy city fell into his hands, and was given up to sack. The idols were of course destroyed, and the temples plundered of their vast hoards of treasure. Mahmud's army then turned back to Ghazni, loaded with booty and encumbered with hundreds of slaves.

Kanauj plundered.—It was not to be expected that Mahmud, having penetrated so far into the country, would not make Kanauj and the famous cities in its neighbourhood his next objective. In 1018 he crossed the Indus once more, took Muttra and Baran—the modern Bulandshahr—cities renowned throughout Hindustan for their beauty and their wealth, and then towards the close of the year delivered his attack on Kanauj. Resistance was vain, and early in January 1019 its ruler, Jaipal, to save the city from the fate of Muttra, which had been ruthlessly sacked, made terms with the conqueror. Mahmud's object being merely plunder, he was ignominiously bought off with all the treasure that could be hastily collected. Its value was said to have been enormous, and to have well requited him for the abandonment of the siege.

Permanent occupation of Lahore.—In 1021 Mahmud had to suppress a formidable rising in the Punjab, led by the son of Anangpal. It was the last despairing effort of the Hindus, doomed from the first to failure. Mahmud's army, confident and strengthened by fresh troops, in one pitched battle overwhelmed them. To prevent a recurrence of rebellion in his rear Mahmud formally annexed the northern Punjab, and stationed a Muhammedan governor

and garrison at Lahore. This was an event of great importance, since it gave a permanent foundation to Moslem power in India.

Plunder of Somnath.—In 1026 he undertook his sixteenth and greatest expedition into India. At Somnath, in the south of Guzerat, was a temple of Siva which was reputed to be one of the wealthiest and holiest in all India, and was besides a great place of pilgrimage. Mahmud was told that the priests of the temple had defied him to reduce Somnath, and he therefore determined to show them how vain was their trust in idols. Marching through Rajputana and Guzerat, and easily overcoming the opposition he met with on the way, he arrived before Somnath in 1025 and laid siege to it. He met with the most stubborn resistance from the Rajput garrison, and was at one time even in danger of defeat. For two days they held him at bay, and then he broke into the city, but not before 5000 of the defenders had fallen and many of his own soldiers had been slain. Somnath was, according to custom, delivered up to plunder. Temples were looted, images destroyed, and the city ransacked by his soldiery for the wealth which it was known to contain. Mahmud then retraced his steps, carrying with him treasure to a fabulous amount. But on the way the Jats of Rajputana hung upon the skirts of his army, cutting off stragglers and plundering the baggage whenever a chance occurred. At length, to avoid the attacks to which his army was continually subjected, he was forced to turn aside from the cultivated tracts, and lead his demoralised troops through waterless deserts, where multitudes died of thirst and exposure.

His last expedition.—Mahmud was furious at the disastrous termination of the campaign, and his seventeenth and last expedition was undertaken to punish those who had molested his return march from Somnath. Rajputana was overrun, and terrible vengeance taken upon its unruly inhabitants.

His death.—After a reign of 33 years, in which he had devastated Northern India and added to his own dominions the Punjab, Bokhara, Samarkand, and part of Persia, in 1030 this remarkable man died. For his services in the cause of his religion he gained the name of "The Image

Breaker." But it is doubtful whether avarice and the love of conquest rather than religion had not led him to invade India. Besides being a great conqueror and a successful administrator, he was also a patron of arts and letters. The spoils of Hindustan were used to enrich and beautify his capital, and Ghazni was converted by him into a magnificent and stately city, with a museum, a library, and a university. The scholar Alberuni flourished at his court, and the great Persian poet Firdusi wrote his *Shah Namah* in his honour.

Decline of Ghazni.—After the death of Mahmud the kingdom of Ghazni began to decline in power. A fresh horde of barbarians, the Saljuk Turks, appeared in Central Asia, and the kings of Ghazni were too busy repelling their invasions to be able to turn their attention to India. The Hindus, thus left to themselves, began to recover from the shock of Mahmud's invasion, and assuming the offensive wrested the sacred Nagarkote from the Muhammedan governor of the Punjab.

Hinduism still flourishing.—Except in those parts where the Muhammedans had established their rule, Hindustan was little affected by Mahmud's invasions. During the eleventh century the Rajputs continued to extend their conquests, Puranic Hinduism continued to oust Buddhism from the land, and much literary activity was displayed in different parts of the country. The kingdom of Magadha was finally swept away by Gopala, king of Western Bengal, early in the same century, and with its overthrow Buddhism in that part of India was practically extinguished. Kanauj recovered from the shock of Mahmud's invasion, and under Jaichand and his successors, who were Rajputs of the famous Rathor clan, became once more the most illustrious city in Northern India. King Bhoja of Malwa about the same time attained to great renown in Central India. Raja Bhoja, like the legendary hero Vikramaditya, is the subject of many a Hindu story. He was a famous patron of literature, and is himself the reputed author of several well-known works. Bhāskara Acharya, the greatest of Indian astronomers, composed his works during this period, and in this century the modern languages of India, Hindi, Bengali, Mahratti, Tamil, and Telugu, came largely into use for literary

purposes. Early in the twelfth century Ramanuja, a great reformer, popularised the worship of Vishnu as the one Supreme Being, and many Vaisnava sects were founded by his followers throughout Hindustan.

Rise of Ghor.—While the Ghazni kingdom was declining, a rival kingdom was rising at Ghor near Kandahar. Early in the twelfth century a quarrel broke out between the two kingdoms, which led to reprisals and a bitter feud. Hostilities continued with varying fortune for many years ; till at length in 1149 Alauddin, King of Ghor, in revenge for the treacherous murder of his brother, laid siege to Ghazni, and after a vigorous assault succeeded in capturing it. The vengeance that he wreaked upon it was terrible. For seven days his soldiers massacred the inhabitants indiscriminately, while the city was given up to sack and all its noble buildings destroyed. The chiefs who had betrayed his brother were led away in chains to Ghor and there put to death, and their blood mixed with the mortar of the fortifications which Alauddin was building round the city. The ruthless butchery of the defenceless inhabitants of Ghazni and the wanton destruction of its stately edifices, gained for Alauddin the name of Jahānsuz, the Incendiary of the World. The King of Ghazni, before the city fell into the hands of his vengeful enemy, had, luckily for him, made his escape towards India with his son Khusrū. But he did not live to reach it, for on the way he died, worn out with age and broken with misfortunes. Khusrū, however, reached the Punjab in safety, and in this dependency of the shattered Ghaznavi kingdom set up his capital at Lahore. He died in 1160 after a reign of seven years, and was succeeded by his son.

Muhammad Ghori.—Alauddin meanwhile had died, and one of his nephews had become King of Ghor, and another Governor of Ghazni. The latter, named Shahabuddin, but better known to history as Muhammad Ghori, determined to reduce the Punjab to its former allegiance to Ghazni. After two unsuccessful attempts, in 1186 he captured Lahore and took its king prisoner. The last of the Ghaznavi dynasty was sent as a captive to Ghor, and the Punjab passed into the hands of the conqueror without a struggle.

Dissensions among Rajputs of Northern India.—Muhammad Ghori had long wished to emulate the conqueror Mahmud and, now that he was master of the Punjab, and thus provided with a base in India itself from which to undertake the conquest of Hindustan, he lost no time in preparing an expedition for that purpose. There were at this time two great rival Rajput kingdoms in Northern India, Kanauj ruled over by Jaichand, and Delhi and Ajmir united into one kingdom under Prithvi Raj. But a feud had arisen between the two kings, and at the time of Muhammad Ghori's coming the Rajput chiefs of Northern India were divided into two parties, one siding with Jaichand and the other with Prithvi. As in the days of Porus, so now the Hindus could not set aside their differences to meet a common enemy, and thus when the Muhammedans came down upon India they had the luck to find a disunited Hindustan.

Fall of Delhi.—Muhammad attacked Prithvi's kingdom first, and captured the town of Bhatindah in 1191. Prithvi, who had already in many a fight proved himself a redoubtable leader, straightway marched out against him, and encountering him not far from Tarain, a hundred miles north of Delhi, utterly defeated him.

Muhammad was badly wounded in the battle and made his way back with difficulty to Lahore. The project of conquering India had for a time to be given up, and as soon as he had sufficiently recovered he reluctantly retraced his steps to Ghazni. But he had known defeat before, and he was a man not easily to be discouraged or turned from his purpose; and having spent the next two years in making fresh preparations, he swept down upon India once more. Prithvi was again deserted by many who should have helped him, but collecting round him as many of the Rajput chiefs as would follow him, he encamped against Muhammad near Thanesar. For some time the opposing armies passively watched each other. But one morning before dawn the Muhammedans suddenly attacked the Indian camp. The Hindus were completely taken by surprise and thrown into great confusion; and though they rallied and fought stubbornly throughout the day, the Muhammedans maintained their

first advantage, and by evening the issue was no longer in doubt. Then Prithvi was captured, fighting in the forefront of his army, and in despair the Hindus at once broke and fled. Prithvi was put to death by his ungenerous conqueror, and his kingdom annexed as far south as Ajmir; but Delhi, strangely enough, did not fall at once into the hands of Muhammad. A year later, however, Kutbuddin, who had been appointed governor of the conquered territory, succeeded in reducing it: Kutbuddin was a Turkish slave who by his military genius had raised himself to the rank of general in his master's service. Muhammad had meanwhile returned to Ghazni to recruit for a fresh invasion.

Annexation of Kanauj.—Jaichand had soon good cause to regret that he had not laid aside his enmity and helped Prithvi to repel the common enemy, for in 1194 Muhammad returned and marched against Kanauj. Jaichand made one great effort at Etawah to repel him, but was defeated and slain. His kingdom passed at once to his conqueror, who, after formally annexing it and placing a Muhammedan garrison there to keep order, withdrew to Afghanistan. But rather than submit to Moslem rule, many of the Rajput chiefs of Northern India migrated to Rajputana, where they founded kingdoms which endure to this day.

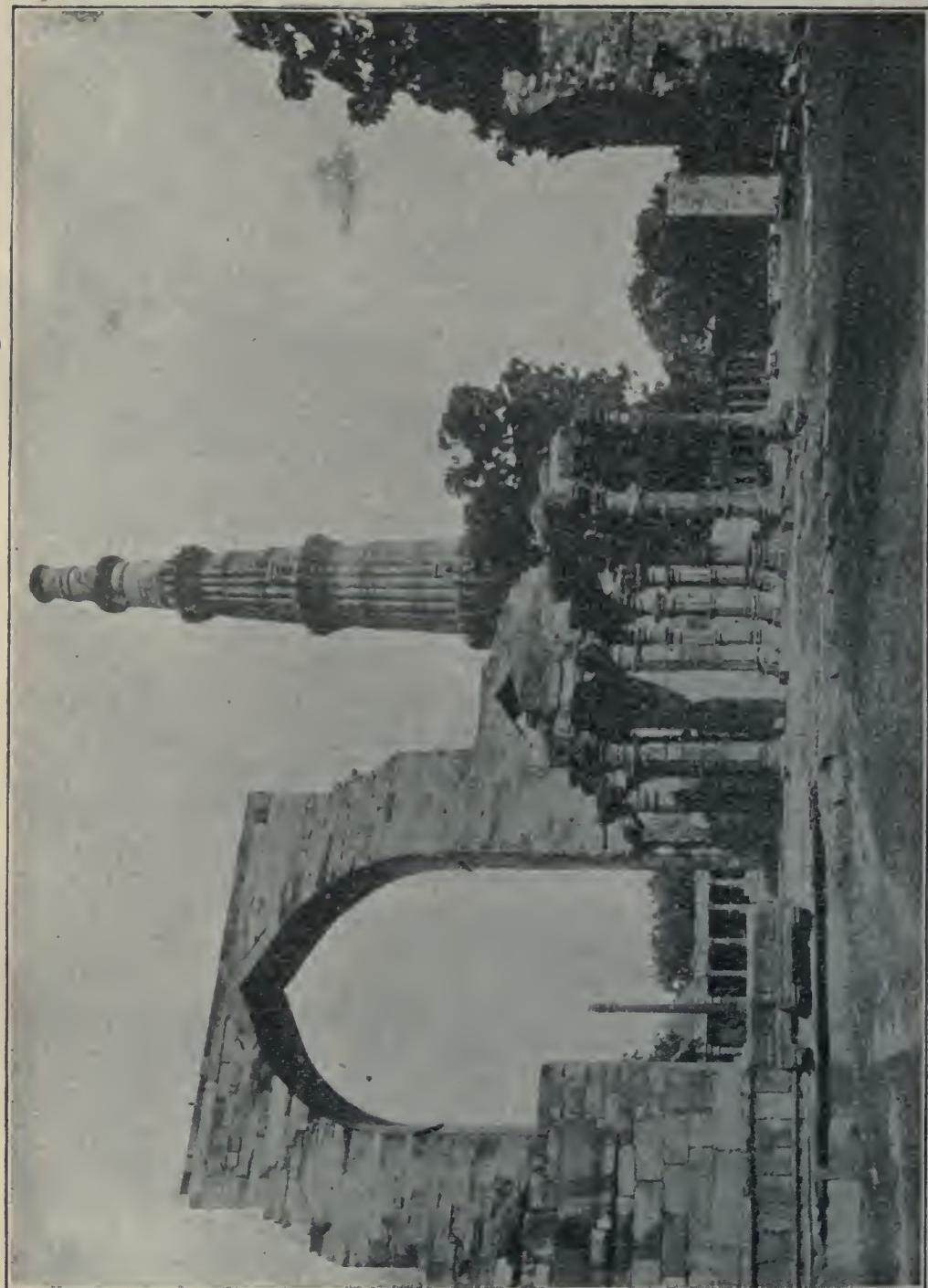
Further Muhammedan conquests.—Muhammad again returned to Ghazni, and on the death of his brother, the King of Ghor, in 1196, was crowned King of Ghor and Ghazni. During his absence from India, Kutbuddin the Governor of Delhi conquered Guzerat, and Bakhtiyar Khilji, the general whom he had left behind in Kanauj, annexed first Oudh and Behar, and then Western Bengal, the last named without a struggle.

Death of Muhammad.—Muhammad's Indian Empire was now of vast extent, and practically comprised the whole of Northern India as far as Guzerat on the west and the delta of the Ganges on the east. But annexations had followed each other so quickly that he had had no time to consolidate his empire. He therefore spent the rest of his days in subduing rebellions in the north or marching expeditions into India to punish refractory Hindu chiefs. In the year 1206, while on his way back to Ghor after the

suppression of a revolt of the Khokhars, whose territory was in the Punjab, he was assassinated by a Muhammedan fanatic at a place called Damyak. Though not comparable with Mahmud as a general, Muhammad left by his conquests a more lasting effect upon India. While Mahmud had been content with raiding and plundering, Muhammad aimed at extension of dominions, and though he showed less capacity than Mahmud for administering a vast empire, the generals he left behind him were able to hold the conquered countries for him and to establish Moslem rule firmly in India.

The Slave Dynasty 1206-1290.—After Muhammad's death, his empire, as might have been expected, fell to pieces. Kutbuddin, the Governor of Delhi, set up as an independent sovereign, and proclaimed himself Emperor of India in 1206. He was the founder of a line of kings known as the Slave Dynasty, because, like him, several of his successors were originally slaves. Kutbuddin, after reigning for four years, was killed by a fall from his horse. His name is chiefly remembered in connection with the Kuth Minár, a tapering and graceful tower of red sandstone inscribed with verses of the Kurān, which he erected at Delhi. He was succeeded by his son, a weak and dissolute man, during whose brief reign the Muhammedan governors of Sind and Bengal declared themselves independent. Before he had been upon the throne a single year he was deposed by Altamsh, the Governor of Burdwan, who had once been his father's slave.

First appearance of the Moghuls.—During Altamsh's reign the Moghuls made their first irruption into India. By the military genius of a great leader, Chengiz Khan, the nomad tribes of Tartary had been gathered together into one people, and their fighting men converted from undisciplined but hardy savages into well-trained soldiers. After overrunning the whole of China, they poured in vast hordes into Central Asia. One after another the Muhammedan kingdoms fell before them, the fields were laid waste and the cities sacked and destroyed. Wherever the Moghuls met with resistance they signalised the defeat of their enemies with appalling massacres. In wanton barbarity and destructiveness the early Moghuls



THE KUTUB MINAR.

were the equals of the White Huns, and though less fiendishly cruel their great leader was quite as pitiless and inhuman as Mihiragula. Before he died this "World Stormer,"

as he is called, who had started life as the chieftain of a petty Mongolian tribe, had created an empire stretching from the Dneiper to the China Sea. India narrowly escaped the horrors of one of his devastating invasions. On one occasion when in pursuit of the ruler of Khwarizm—the modern Khiva—who had fled to India, he appeared on the banks of the Indus, and the provinces of Multan, Lahore and Peshawar were actually ravaged by his troops. But fortunately for India he withdrew to attack Herat, the inhabitants of which had risen against the Moghul governor. As an instance of his ferocity, it may be mentioned that when the town fell into his hands, he put to death man, woman, and child. It is said that on this occasion alone 1,600,000 people were butchered in cold blood.

Altamsh subdues Northern India.—The retirement of Chengiz Khan left Altamsh free to punish the rebellious governors of Sind and Bengal. After successful campaigns against both, he turned his attention to his independent Hindu neighbours, and invaded Rajputana. The fortresses of Ranthambhor and Gwalior were captured after protracted sieges, and then Ujjain, the ancient capital of Malwa, was taken. It is needless, perhaps, to add that wherever he went he broke down images and demolished temples. At his death, which occurred in 1236, he had made himself the master of all Northern India as far south as the Vindhya Hills.

Causes of Muhammedan success.—It may seem surprising that the Hindus, who so enormously outnumbered their conquerors, and who had fought so stoutly for their independence, should have been held in check from any general rising against their Muhammedan rulers. The explanation is to be found in the immense number of hardy, well-trained soldiers available at all times for repressing them. When Ghazni fell, Khusrus was followed into India by bands of Turki warriors fleeing from the general massacre; and when the Moghuls swept down upon Central Asia, many of the soldiery of Afghanistan, Samarcand, and Bokhara fled to India and took service under Moslem rulers. There was thus an almost inexhaustible supply of the finest fighting material ready to hand, and a Hindu rising could be crushed before it had time to grow

formidable. The Muhammedan Emperor of Delhi in particular, from the position of his capital, could always obtain as many mercenaries as he wanted to wage his wars. But while the presence of Afghan and Turki soldiers strengthened the hold which the Muhammedans had over India, it was at the same time a fruitful source of danger and weakness to the Delhi Empire; for it enabled pretenders to the throne and rebellious governors to surround themselves rapidly with large and well-disciplined armies.

Sultan Raziya.—Altamsh was succeeded by his son, a feeble and cruel debauchee, who was deposed after a reign of six months and put to death. His sister Raziya, a woman of remarkable vigour and ability, was raised to the throne in his stead. She is known by the name of Sultan Raziya, a tribute to her masculine energy, and owns the proud distinction of having been the only woman who sat upon the throne of Delhi. She began her reign well, and acted up to her reputation for learning and good sense; but, unfortunately for herself, excited the jealousy of her nobles by showing too great a partiality for an Abyssinian slave. A rebellion was the result, which ended in her being deposed and put to death, after a reign of three and a half years.

Reappearance of the Moghuls.—The next two kings, who were only distinguished for vice and cruelty, were, after brief reigns, both assassinated. Nasiruddin Ahmad, a younger brother of Raziya, then seized the throne and occupied it for 21 years. During his reign the Moghuls again made their appearance in the Punjab, and their invasions from this time forward became a constant source of anxiety to the Pathan rulers of Delhi. The Rajputs of Mewat seized the opportunity to revolt, and the Khokhars renewed their raids upon the Punjab. But owing to the energy and ability of his minister Balban, the tide of Moghul invasion was stemmed, the Rajputs were subdued, and the Khokhars driven back to their native hills.

Balban.—After Nasiruddin's death, in 1266, Balban seized his master's throne. Balban's career had been an unusually checkered one even for those wild times. Start-

ing life as Altamsh's slave, he had at length even been considered worthy to marry his master's daughter. His enemies had reason to tremble at his name, for he was as vindictive as he was able. His first act on becoming king was to massacre the band of confederates who had helped him to the throne. Governors suspected of harbouring treasonable designs were flogged, sometimes even to death, before his eyes. The Rajputs of Mewat and Malwa, who had again risen, were hunted from their fastnesses, and nearly exterminated, and lastly a revolt in Bengal was put down with merciless severity. His long reign was a succession of Hindu revolts, rebellions of Muhammedan governors and Moghul invasions, but the old warrior was strong enough to hold his kingdom against them all. His capital became the asylum of ruined kings and princes from Central Asia, who had been driven out of their dominions by Moghul invasions, and was filled with poets and men of letters from northern countries.

End of the slave dynasty.—Balban died in 1287, and was succeeded by a grandson, who, like so many of his predecessors on the throne, was weak, dissolute, and cruel. After three and a half years of misrule he was assassinated, and by common consent Jalaluddin Khilji, governor of the Punjab, was placed upon the vacant throne. Thus the slave dynasty was brought to an end in 1290, after lasting for 84 years. The cruelty and viciousness of most of its kings had alienated the Muhammedans and goaded the Hindus to revolt. When it ceased the Moslem Empire in India was no firmer than it had been when Kutbuddin, the founder, ascended the throne of Delhi.

The Khilji dynasty—1290-1320.—Jalaluddin, the founder of the Khilji dynasty, was an old man when he usurped the throne. The best part of his life had been spent in repelling the Moghul invasions in the Punjab, and he was now hardly equal to the task of governing so wild and distracted a kingdom. His first year was spent in suppressing Hindu revolts. The temples of Malwa were plundered and Ujjain, which had regained its independence, captured and sacked, but the attempt to reduce Ranthambhor failed completely. Jalaluddin thereupon returned to Delhi, now anxious only to finish his days in peace. But his nephew,

Alauddin, governor of Karra, near Allahabad, was of a restless and daring spirit, and could not be restrained. His first exploit was the capture of Bhilsa, south of the Vindya hills, 300 miles away, with a handful of cavalry. The Raja was taken unawares by the suddenness of the raid and forced to submit, and his city was plundered. Emboldened by this success, Alauddin, in 1296, made a dash upon Maharashtra with a body of 8000 troops. The Raja was surprised in his capital of Devagiri, and obliged to sue for peace to save the city from sack. The price demanded was a portion of his territory, an enormous ransom, and the promise of a yearly tribute. Ellichpur was next attacked, captured and sacked. Alauddin then galloped back to Karra, laden with booty. The old king, on the news of his return, hastened to congratulate his victorious nephew, and for his pains was treacherously seized and beheaded.

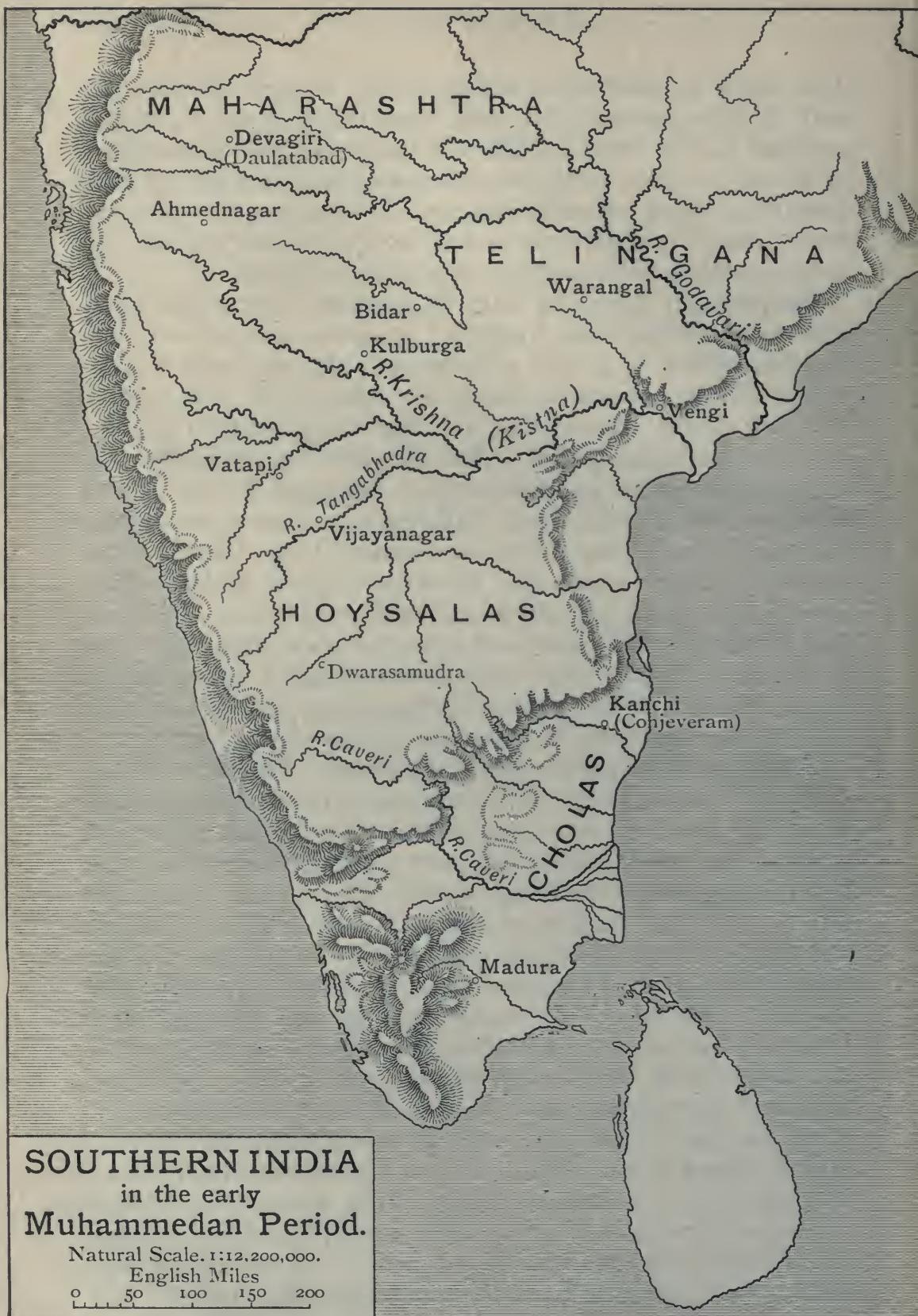
Alauddin.—Alauddin, after this dastardly act, marched on Delhi, and having by bribery and intimidation allayed all opposition, seized the crown, in 1296. He signalled his accession by hunting down and murdering the sons of Jelaluddin to make his position secure. The first two years of his reign were spent in campaigns against the Moghuls, whom he defeated and drove out of the Punjab. In the third year he made an expedition into Guzerat. The Raja fled before him, and the country was annexed. He next turned his attention to the Rajputs of Rajputana, who had never ceased, in spite of merciless repression, to raid the neighbouring Muhammedan territory.

Invades Rajputana.—As has already been stated, when the Muhammedans conquered Northern India many Rajput chiefs with their retainers fled to Rajputana, and there established small independent kingdoms. For mutual protection they formed themselves into a loose confederacy, recognising the Rana of Chittor as their overlord. Alauddin was determined to put a stop to their raiding, and he therefore marched the next year into Rajputana to punish them. Ranthambhor was captured by assault after a stubborn and protracted defence, and its inhabitants massacred : then laying waste the country, he marched against Chittor. The fortress held out for six months before he could reduce it, and the Rajputs fought to the last with desperate valour.

The Rana was captured when it fell ; but an heroic remnant of the garrison cut their way through the besiegers and fled to the Aravalli Hills. From there, under a nephew of the Rana, they made themselves so troublesome by continually sallying out and raiding and ravaging the country round that Alauddin was glad at last to restore Chittor, on condition that his suzerainty was acknowledged.

Campaign against the Moghuls.—After reducing Chittor, Alauddin was forced to turn his attention to the Punjab, where a fresh invasion of Moghuls was taking place. This kept him busy for the next two years. Nothing could exceed the ferocity he displayed in the conduct of this campaign. The Moghuls had by this time been converted to Islam, but they belonged to the sect of Shiahhs, while Alauddin and his Afghan soldiers were bigoted Sunnis. They were therefore detested by him on this account. Captives received no mercy at his hands. Men were put to death in cold blood, and women and children sold as slaves. Thousands of wretched prisoners were sent in chains to Delhi, where they were trampled upon by the state elephants to make a public spectacle, and their skulls afterwards heaped up in pyramids at the city gates.

Kafur's campaign in Southern India.—While Alauddin was engaged in suppressing Rajput revolts and repelling Moghul invasions, Malik Kafur, his favourite general, was conducting a campaign against the independent Hindu kingdoms of Southern India. Kafur was a converted Hindu, and had been given as a slave to Alauddin during the expedition to Guzerat. Alauddin had taken a great fancy to him, and had marked him at once for high command. At that time the chief kingdoms of the Deccan were Devagiri, Telingana, and Dwára Samudra in North Mysore. All three were ruled over by Rajput kings. Had they combined they might have been more than a match for the Muhammedans ; but they were no wiser than the Rajputs of Delhi and Kanauj had been when Muhammad Ghori descended upon Northern India. The excuse for Kafur's expedition was that the Raja of Devagiri had failed to pay his tribute. His country was quickly overrun, his capital pillaged, and he himself was sent a prisoner to Delhi. But he succeeded by rich gifts in pleasing Alauddin so well



during his captivity that he was restored to his dominions. After overrunning the whole of Maharashtra Kafur in 1311 led his army south. Dwára Samudra was laid waste, Warangal, the capital of Telingana, sacked, and the country ravaged almost as far as Cape Comorin in the extreme south. The campaign was a proof of the wealth of the Hindu kingdoms of the Deccan, and also of their defencelessness, and the facts were not forgotten.

Last years of Alauddin.—Kafur then returned to his master, and was rewarded by being made Prime Minister. Alauddin's constitution was now enfeebled, and his vigour greatly impaired, but his ferocity was no whit abated. A conspiracy to assassinate him having come to light, he massacred indiscriminately the whole of the Moghuls who had submitted to him and settled in his dominions ; his brother-in-law was put to death under suspicion of treason ; and the queen and her two sons, accused of plotting against him, were imprisoned. The news that his health was failing was the signal for a general revolt. Chittor regained its independence and the Muhammedan garrisons were driven out of the Deccan. Rebellion and sedition spread far and wide ; his very palace became a hot-bed of intrigue. In the year 1316, in the midst of these disorders, he died, his end being hastened, it is said, by poison given him by his favourite, Kafur. Kafur placed Alauddin's youngest son upon the throne, and began to administer the empire as regent. But Mubárak, an elder brother of the young king, who had narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of Kafur, heading a successful rebellion, slew the regent, put out the eyes of the puppet ruler and imprisoned him, and had himself proclaimed king.

Decline and fall of the Khilji dynasty.—Mubárak proved himself a worthless debauchee, and entrusted the government of the state to slaves, one of whom, named Malik Khusru, a renegade Hindu, was made Prime Minister. Khusru took the earliest opportunity to murder his master and seize his throne. His first act as ruler was to cut off the House of Khilji root and branch by the murder of every member of Alauddin's family. But he was as stupid as he was brutal and cruel, and while he persecuted Hindus he insulted the religion of Muhammedans. Within five months

of his accession he was deposed and put to death by Ghazi Beg Tughlak, Governor of the Punjab, whom the disgusted nobles had called in to rid them of the tyrant. No member of the Khilji family remaining, Ghazi Beg was chosen king, under the title of Ghiasuddin, Champion of the Faith, in 1320.

The Tughlak Dynasty, 1320-1414.—The new king, who had begun life as a Turki slave, was the first of a line of kings known as the Tughlak Sultans. Delhi had become such a nest of sedition, owing to the number of wild Pathan and Turki adventurers from Central Asia that resorted to it, that he considered it unsafe to live there. He therefore removed his capital to a place about four miles away, which he called Tughlakabad. Ghiasuddin ruled wisely and well and under him the kingdom flourished greatly. The conquest of the south was continued by him and Warangal finally reduced. Bengal also surrendered to him. But he had hardly been on the throne four years when he was killed in suspicious circumstances by the collapse of a wooden pavilion erected for his reception by his son and successor.

Muhammad Tughlak.—This son was the celebrated Muhammad Tughlak, one of the strangest characters in all history. He was a man of deep learning and great abilities, simple in his manner of living, and brave and skilful in war. But his violence of temper, his waywardness, and his inhumanity made his long reign a curse instead of a blessing to his subjects. The position to which he had succeeded was one of extreme difficulty. His empire stretched from Assam on the east to Maharashtra on the west, but, owing to the rebellious nature of the Muhammedan governors and the untameable spirit of the Rajputs, it was never under complete control. The country was flooded with petty trans-frontier chiefs and their retainers—landless men who had been forced to seek refuge in India under pressure of Moghul invasions. They were restless freebooters, without any feelings of loyalty to the Delhi Emperor, and, when not engaged as mercenaries in plundering expeditions against the Hindus, were always ready to take part in any mischief that might be afoot. While in the north the Moghuls were becoming more continuously troublesome, their troops

were better disciplined, and their raids more systematic and more skilfully executed.

His folly and inhumanity.—A cruel and capricious tyrant like Muhammad Tughlak, who frequently betrayed in his conduct symptoms of insanity, was hardly the man to administer such an empire. In order that he might be left alone to deal with his rebellious subjects, he emptied his treasury in bribing the Moghuls to retire from the Punjab ; and then to raise money he increased the land-tax to such an extent that the cultivators in despair abandoned their lands and fled to the jungles. To punish them for this, bands of soldiers were sent out to surround the tracts in which they had taken shelter, and hunt them down and kill them like wild beasts. On one occasion, in an outburst of mad fury, he personally conducted a general massacre of the Hindus of Kanauj. The desolated country was soon a prey to famine, Delhi itself was stricken and thousands within the city died of starvation. In the midst of these horrors, being struck with the beauty of Devagiri, the name of which he changed into Daulatabad, he determined, with characteristic impulsiveness, at once to make it his capital. The wretched famished people of Delhi were ordered to evacuate the city, on pain of death if they disobeyed, and march with all their belongings a distance of 800 miles. In spite of the fearful mortality which occurred, and though the project had to be abandoned as utterly impracticable, he had the folly and inhumanity to make a second attempt, and thus sacrificed to his whim the lives of many thousands more. At his wits' end for money, he sent out an expedition of 100,000 men, by way of Assam, to plunder China. The few who returned to tell the tale of failure were put to death by the furious and disappointed monarch. Another expedition was equipped and sent against Persia ; but the soldiers, being without pay, deserted in such large numbers that the project had to be abandoned. As a characteristic example of his imprudence it may be mentioned that on one occasion to replenish his empty treasury he issued a copper currency stamped with the value of the more precious metals. For a time it was successful, and his coins were accepted as tokens of fictitious value. But foreign merchants refused to accept them, and counter-

feiters took to imitating them in amazing abundance. A panic was the natural result, trade stopped, and beggary and misery spread throughout the land.

General revolt.—Rebellion and anarchy followed closely on the heels of ruin and famine. The governor of Malwa, his nephew, first raised the signal of revolt, and being captured was flayed alive by his ferocious uncle. Rebellions in the Punjab and Sind followed, but were quickly suppressed. Then came a rising in Guzerat, and while Muhammad was engaged in putting it down, the governors of Lower Bengal and the Deccan asserted their independence, and the Hindu kings of Southern India threw off their allegiance. The whole country was up in arms against the oppressor. Having crushed the rising in Guzerat, Muhammad hurried towards the Deccan; but on the way he was seized with a fever and died. His reign of terror had lasted 27 years, and during it his empire had been subjected to every kind of calamity. His administration of justice had been so ferocious that in front of his palace there was daily heaped up a mound of corpses. He left to his successor a much reduced kingdom, an empty treasury, and a plentiful crop of troubles.

Vijayanagar founded.—During the reign of Muhammad Tughlak two notable events occurred in the south. These were the establishment of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, and the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom, the first independent Muhammedan State in the Deccan. The ancient kingdoms of the Cheras and the Pandyas had long since sunk to insignificance, and the Cholas, who had dominated the extreme south for many centuries, had finally succumbed after a long struggle to the king of Warangal early in the fourteenth century. The result of Malik Kafur's expeditions into Southern India in the time of Alauddin Khilji had been to plunge the country into a state of anarchy. The ancient Hindu kingdoms were overthrown or so weakened that there existed for a time no ruler with sufficient power to restore order or to cope with Muhammedan raiders. But the misgovernment of Muhammad Tughlak so distracted his empire that two Kanarese princes, named respectively Harihara and Bukka Ray, were able without molestation to build up out of the

ruins of the lately destroyed Hindu kingdoms a new Hindu empire. This extensive kingdom, to which the name of Vijayanagar was given, after its capital, became for a couple of hundred years the last stronghold of independent Hinduism. So great did it at last become that in the beginning of the sixteenth century, under a ruler named Krishnadeo Rai, it comprised the whole of the Peninsula south of the Krishna river.

The Bahmani kingdom established.—The Bahmani kingdom owed its origin to a combination of the Muhammedan noblemen in the Deccan to resist the cruel oppressions of Muhammad Tughlak. Their leader was a man named Hasan, who, though of good birth, had in early life been reduced by poverty to take service under a Brahman called Gangu. On the death of Muhammad Tughlak, his successor being too weak to put down the rising acknowledged the independence of the Deccan, and thus Hasan became the founder of an independent Muhammedan kingdom. He ascended the throne in 1347 under the title of Sultan Alauddin Hasan Gangu Bahmani. The last two names he took in honour of his old Brahman master, who had befriended him through life, and whom he now in gratitude made his first Prime Minister. His capital was at a place called Kulburga, west of Golconda, and before he died he was ruler over a kingdom stretching from Berar in the north to the Krishna river in the south.

Rivalry between them.—Between these two rival kingdoms war was almost unceasing. Acts of aggression followed by bloody reprisals made up most of the history of both, the Hindus being not less cruel and vindictive than the Muhammedans.

Feroz Tuglak.—Muhammad was succeeded in 1351 by his cousin, Feroz Tuglak, a very different stamp of man. He was a pious Muhammedan, and more anxious to spread his religion than to extend his dominions. During his reign many Hindus were converted to Islam, especially in Bengal, by the efforts of itinerant Muhammedan preachers. He did not attempt to recover his lost provinces in the Deccan, but acknowledged the Muhammedan governors as independent sovereigns. Distant expeditions with his empty treasury were out of the question. Though nomi-

nally Emperor of Northern India, he was in reality only King of the Punjab and the country now comprised by the United Provinces. Bengal had become an independent kingdom during the last days of his predecessor, and Malwa was practically self-governing during his reign. He did, it is true, on more than one occasion make a half-hearted attempt to recover Bengal, and was nearly lost with the whole of his army on another when retiring from an unsuccessful expedition into Sind. He deserves however to be remembered by his works of public utility and his genuine efforts to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. Much of the land which had fallen out of cultivation in Muhammad's reign was reclaimed, taxes were lightened, canals were cut, tanks dug, roads constructed, caravanserais built, and hospitals, schools, and colleges opened. He was certainly a more enlightened ruler than any of his predecessors, but unfortunately, like them, he could not refrain from religious intolerance and from persecuting Hindus. He died in 1388 after a long and peaceful reign of 38 years.

Independent Muhammedan kingdoms.—After his death anarchy and rebellion broke out afresh. His successors were weak and cruel, and soon completed the ruin which Muhammad had begun. Within six years nothing remained to the Emperor of Delhi but the capital itself and the country round about it. But though the empire had decayed, the Muhammedans were increasing their hold upon India. Bengal, Jaunpore, Sind, Guzerat, Malwa, and the Deccan, having thrown off their allegiance to the Delhi ruler, had become powerful Muhammedan kingdoms, and their Hindu subjects had learnt to submit with patience to the rule of the foreigner. Rajputana and the south were now the last strongholds of independent Hinduism.

Timur sacks Delhi.—In 1398 another world-stormer from Central Asia swept down upon India. Timur, or Tamerlane, as he is sometimes called, was a descendant of the terrible Chengiz Khan. While Chengiz was a mere ruthless plunderer, Timur, who was a Muhammedan, professed religious zeal as the ground of conquest. The wild Tartar tribes who had invaded Central Asia under Chengiz Khan, had during the 13th century become converted to

Islam, and were full of enthusiasm for their new faith. Religious fanaticism, added to their lust of plunder, made them, if possible, more ferocious and callous of human suffering than ever, and certainly more formidable in war. Timur had the genius of his ancestor for converting savage hordes into well-trained armies, and an equal ambition for conquest. He was over sixty years of age, and the ruler of an empire greater even than that of Chengiz Khan, when hearing of the wealth of India and the enfeebled state of the Pathan rulers of Delhi he determined to invade it. Giving out that his mission was to destroy idolatry, he marched with an immense army down the Khyber Pass into the Punjab. Timur was destitute of humanity, and his soldiers were brutal and cruel to a degree unsurpassed in the annals of war. City after city fell before him and was plundered, and those of its inhabitants that were not taken as slaves were put to the sword. Wherever he went he spread ruin and desolation. Panic preceded his approach, and those who could, abandoning everything, fled for their lives ; so that the country was filled with hurrying and terrified fugitives. At length he reached Delhi, but before commencing the siege, he ordered a massacre of his Indian captives, that he might be unencumbered by them in the attack, and might engage with all his forces in the assault. In obedience to this cruel order 100,000 helpless prisoners were butchered in cold blood in the space of an hour or two. The day before the attack Mahmud Tughlak the Emperor slipped away from the doomed city, and fled to Guzerat. After a feeble resistance the inhabitants capitulated on a promise that their lives should be spared. Timur then entered with his army, and proclaimed himself the Emperor of Hindustan. But notwithstanding his promise, he gave the city up to sack. For five days his soldiers raged through it without restraint, pillaging and massacring till the houses were gutted and the streets impassable for the multitude of corpses. Timur then withdrew with his plunder and his captives to Central Asia, leaving behind him a wake of desolation. Famine and pestilence soon followed, and the once populous and wealthy city was for a time actually deserted.

End of the Tughlak Dynasty.—The Delhi Empire was destroyed, but Ikbal, Mahmud's Prime Minister, seized upon the capital, and managed to maintain a semblance of authority for a few years. But in 1405 a rebellion broke out against him and he was defeated and killed. Mahmud was then brought back from Guzerat and placed again upon the throne. He reigned till 1412, but nothing remained to him of the former Empire of Delhi except the city itself, and he relinquished the title of emperor.

The Syed Dynasty, 1414-1450.—After his death anarchy again prevailed, till in 1414 Khizr Khan, the Governor of Sind, marched upon Delhi and captured it. Three of his descendants occupied the throne after him, but their power was confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi, and they had to struggle with the neighbouring Muhammedan kings to retain the little territory they possessed. Their dynasty is known as the Syed Dynasty, because they claimed descent from the Prophet. Alauddin the last king of the line, resigned his throne to Bahlul Lodi, Governor of the Punjab, and retired from the world to pass his days in religious meditation.

Prosperity of the Bahmani kingdom.—While the four rulers of the Syed Dynasty were occupying the throne of Delhi, the Bahmani kingdom of Southern India attained to the zenith of its prosperity. Under Sultan Feroz and his brother Ahmad, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was invaded, and its king forced to sue for peace; the ancient kingdom of Telingana was in great part annexed, and two new cities, Ahmadnagar and Bidar, destined to be in later times themselves the capitals of kingdoms, sprang up within the state.

The Lodi Dynasty, 1451-1526.—Bahlul, who assumed the title of Sultan in 1451, was the founder of a line of kings called the Lodi Dynasty. Twenty-six years of his reign were spent in a struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Jaunpore, which was at length reduced, and annexed to his dominions. His son Sikandar succeeded to a kingdom which included the Punjab and the whole of the United Provinces. During his reign Behar was added to it, and the capital removed to Agra. But Ibrahim Lodi, his successor, by his cruelty, arrogance, and bigotry,

estranged his subjects, both Hindu and Muhammedan, and brought about the ruin of the reviving empire. Rebellions broke out against him in all directions, in the midst of which Babar, the ruler of Kabul, appeared upon the scene with a Moghul army.

Victory of the Moghuls at Panipat.—Babar was a descendant of Timur, and on the strength of this he laid claim to the throne of Delhi; but the immediate cause of his coming was an invitation from Daulat Khan, the governor of the Punjab to assist in dethroning the tyrant, Ibrahim Lodi. He had long cherished the desire of conquering Hindustan, and he rightly judged the present to be the most propitious moment. He lost no time therefore in marching upon Lahore; but before he reached the city, the treacherous governor was driven out by the troops of Ibrahim Lodi. Babar quickly disposed of the enemy and chased them out with great slaughter. The bazaar was burnt and the city plundered, and then he moved on again. But he had not gone far before he met with a serious and unexpected check; for Daulat Khan, who had repented of his treachery, went into rebellion against him and took the field with 40,000 men. He was forced, therefore, to turn back and confront this danger threatening him in the rear. The insurrection proved less formidable than it looked; for at the approach of the Moghuls Daulat Khan's army vanished. Having restored order and secured the country behind him Babar resumed his march on Delhi. Ibrahim Lodi, recognising the seriousness of the crisis, gathered together all the forces he could muster and marched out to meet the invader. On the plain of Panipat, in the historic neighbourhood of the two great battlefields of Kurukshetra and Thanesar, in 1526, the Moghuls and the Afghans met to decide the fate of India. The battle was short but bloody. The well-disciplined and hardy warriors of Central Asia, though far outnumbered, were more than a match for the enervated Afghans of the Indian plains. By mid-day Babar had gained a decisive victory. 15,000 of the enemy lay dead upon the field, and Ibrahim Lodi was himself among the slain. In Delhi, which at once submitted to him without a struggle, Babar had himself proclaimed Emperor of India. He then

marched upon Agra, captured it, and seized the family of Ibrahim. Northern India now lay at the feet of the Moghuls.

Mahmud Gawan.—The year 1526 is also noteworthy as the year in which the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan came to an end. Between the years 1435 and 1461, under two vicious rulers, the kingdom rapidly declined. Then the genius of a statesman, Mahmud Gawan, infused into it for a time fresh vitality. During his prime ministership of 25 years he succeeded not only in maintaining a just and firm government, but by annexing the Konkan and the Northern Circars, and completing the subjugation of Telingana, greatly extended the boundaries of the state. He was a man of learning and piety, simple in his habits, and incorruptible, employing his great wealth without stint in charities and objects of public utility. But all his virtues could not save him from an evil fate. In the faithful discharge of his duties he aroused the jealousy and the hatred of the turbulent Deccani nobility, and they at length contrived his ruin. He was executed on a false charge by order of the sovereign for whom he had worked so ably and so disinterestedly.

Break-up of the Bahmani kingdom.—After his death the state was rent by factions and quickly fell to pieces. But out of the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom there arose five small and vigorous independent states, Berar, Bidar, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, and Golconda. But they all continued to display the factiousness of the parent kingdom, were always at war with one another, and could not even combine for mutual protection against a common foe. Thus the extinction of the Bahmani kingdom greatly weakened Muhammedan power in the Deccan, and may justly be said to have contributed ultimately not a little to the downfall of Islamic supremacy in India.

India under the Pathan kings.—The Pathan kings of Delhi had held their dominions under a sort of military despotism. They had contented themselves with garrisoning important places with their mercenaries, collecting the land tax in the country immediately under them, wresting tribute from Hindu Rajas, and exacting contributions from Muhammedan governors, when they felt themselves strong

enough to enforce obedience ; they had never attempted directly to administer their territories. During all this period the Muhammedans continued to persecute the conquered Hindus. Their own chroniclers testify with pride to the uncompromising way in which their rulers destroyed idols and temples, and slew by thousands those who persisted in idolatry. Even so mild and beneficent a ruler as Feroz Tuglak takes credit to himself for the destruction of shrines and the massacre of obdurate idolators ; while of the ruthless and bloodthirsty Alauddin it is recorded that "when he advanced from Karra the Hindus in alarm descended into the ground like ants. He departed towards the garden of Behar to dye the soil as red as a tulip."

Condition of the Hindus.—But the Hindus, while subject at all times to religious persecution, enjoyed under their conquerors a large measure of liberty. Their social system remained unimpaired, and the Brahmans retained over them their power and influence undiminished. Though many converts were made to Islam, they were mostly from among those who had nothing to lose and everything to gain in the social scale by turning Muhammedan. The great mass of the people remained as before ; and so far from the regulations of caste being relaxed, the persecutions to which they were subjected only made them hold to them more tenaciously than ever.

Union of Hindus and Muhammedans in the Deccan.—In Northern India there was very little sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, and their religious differences made any sort of union impossible. But with the growth of independent Muhammedan kingdoms in Bengal, Sind, and the Deccan, Hindus and Muhammedans had to adapt themselves to a different condition of things. These kingdoms were essentially Indian, for the foreign element was small, and the rulers could not look to the north, as the Delhi Emperor looked, for a continuous and inexhaustible supply of Muhammedan mercenaries. It was therefore necessary to treat Hindu subjects with some consideration. In course of time, under the influence of climate and surroundings, racial differences grew less marked and antipathies less vehement. Hindus and Muhammedans came to regard each other as fellow-countrymen, and Hindu officers were

employed in posts of trust side by side with Muhammedans. Although divided by the impassable barrier of religious difference, and maintaining an uncompromising attitude in the matter of their social and domestic regulations, they learnt in time to regard each other with a less intolerant spirit, so that it became possible for them to live together in some sort of harmony.

Babar drives the Afghans out of Northern India.—Babar and his son Humayun, after the fall of Agra, set about tranquillising the country round. The Afghans, though decisively beaten at Panipat, did not without further struggle relinquish Northern India to the Moghuls. They rallied at Jaunpore, and there made a desperate effort to set up a rival kingdom. But it was of no avail, and they were defeated and driven out.

Defeats the Rajputs.—Hardly had the Afghans been subdued before Sanga Singh, the Rana of Chittor, headed a combination of Rajputs against Babar. Sanga Singh had taken advantage of the stormy times preceding the fall of the Pathan empire to extend his dominions and consolidate his power. He was therefore a formidable adversary, especially as Mahmud Lodi, brother of the late king, with 10,000 men had joined him, hoping with his assistance to drive the Moghuls out of India. In the year 1527 the allies marched upon Agra, and encountered Babar at Fatehpur Sikri, close by. The fate of India hung upon the issue of the battle. At one time during the fight the Moghuls began to give way, and defeat seemed imminent. But their better discipline saved them, and, rallying under Babar's exhortations, they made one supreme effort, and snatched the victory from the already exultant enemy. The advancing Hindus and Afghans were checked, then driven back, and finally routed with great slaughter. Babar gave the Rajputs no chance to recover. Following up his success, he assumed the offensive, and completely broke their power in Northern India by the capture of all their principal strongholds. In 1529 Behar was added to his dominions. He was now the ruler of an empire stretching from Bokhara to Multan, and from the Arabian Sea to the eastern borders of Behar.

Death of Babar.—Babar died in 1530 at the age of

fifty. In many respects he was an ideal Eastern monarch. He was brave and generous, frank and impulsive, cheerful and patient under misfortunes, fond of letters himself, and a patron of learning ; and if in his dealings with his enemies he showed himself callous and cruel, he only acted after the manner of his times. On his death the empire he had created was divided up among his four sons. Humayun, the eldest, became Emperor of Delhi, and Kámrán, the second, ruler of the Punjab and Afghanistan. The other two sons were provided with Indian governorships under their eldest brother.

Humayun's critical position.—Humayun's position was a critical one. The Afghans had not yet abandoned all hope of wresting India from the Moghuls, and were again giving trouble in the eastern portion of his dominions. Bahadur Shah, the King of Guzerat, was absorbing into his kingdom the neighbouring territories ; and Sher Shah, a Pathan soldier of fortune, had made himself the master of Behar ; added to which the jealousy existing between Kámrán and Humayun made it impossible for the latter to obtain from the north the fresh supplies of Moghul soldiers necessary for the defence of his kingdom.

Bahadur Shah driven out of Guzerat.—A few months before Babar's death, Bahadur Shah had captured Chittor and placed there a Muhammedan garrison. Soon after Humayun's accession, the widow of the late Rana appealed to him to expel the Afghan governor. Humayun, who had a private grudge against Bahadur and was alarmed at his growing power, readily responded to her appeal and marched an army into Rajputana. Chittor was captured, Malwa annexed, and Bahadur chased into Guzerat. Humayun, following close behind, forced him to fly from place to place, and ultimately drove him from his kingdom. The campaign concluded with the storming and capture of Champanir, the hill fort in which were stored the treasures of the kingdom. In this last exploit Humayun displayed conspicuous courage, being one of the first to scale its walls.

Struggle with Sher Shah.—But while Humayun was thus employed, Sher Shah had conquered Bengal and proclaimed himself its king. He had also seized the strong fort of Chunar, on the Ganges. Humayun was thus forced

to leave Guzerat and hurry back to the north. As soon as he had gone, Bahadur Shah returned and recovered all the territory which had been taken from him. After a siege of six months, Humayun captured Chunar, and Sher Shah fled back to Bengal. Humayun followed in pursuit, and took Patna and Gaur, the capital of Bengal, on the way ; but he was unable to overtake Sher Shah, who made good his escape to the jungle. As the rainy season had commenced, Humayun decided to retire ; but sickness broke out in his army, and his retreat was cut off by floods. Whereupon Sher Shah emerged from his hiding-place, recovered Behar and Chunar, and laid siege to Jaunpore. Humayun, as soon as the rains were over, began to retreat. Sher Shah at once abandoned the siege of Jaunpore, and hurried back to cut him off. The two armies met at Buxar in 1539, and encamped opposite each other. Humayun, fearing to engage with his weakened forces, entered into negotiations with Sher Shah, and agreed to appoint him Governor of Behar and Bengal. Scarcely were the terms of peace agreed upon when the treacherous Afghans fell upon the rear of Humayun's army. The Moghuls, taken unawares, were seized with panic, and, flying in disorder, plunged into the Ganges, where thousands of them were drowned. Humayun himself leapt on horseback into the river, and attempted to swim across ; but his horse sank beneath him, and but for the assistance of a water-carrier, who lent him his inflated *mashak*, he too would have been drowned.

Flight of Humayun.—Sher Shah continued his victorious course as far as Kanauj, while Humayun fled before him to Agra. Both occupied the next few months in preparation for a final struggle. Sher Shah was now the champion of the Pathans against the Moghuls. Afghan chiefs flocked to his standard from all directions, and he had soon an immense army with him. Humayun, on the other hand, was hampered by the intrigues of his brothers, and was forced to face the crisis with what Moghuls he could collect in Northern India. The armies met at Kanauj in 1540, and the Moghuls were again defeated with great slaughter. Humayun was obliged to fly for his life and to abandon his kingdom to the victor. Kámrán refused to afford him refuge in his dominions, and he had to turn

aside and make his way with his family to Persia through the desert of Sind. On the way to Amarkot, in 1542, his famous son Akbar was born. The fugitives, after enduring great hardships, at last reached Persia and threw themselves on the protection of the king. But shelter was only granted them on the humiliating conditions that they would become Shias instead of Sunnis.

Sher Shah at Delhi.—After the victory of Kanauj Sher Shah ascended the throne of Delhi. The lessons of the past were not lost upon a man so able. He perceived that if he was to be free from Moghul incursions, he must get possession of the Punjab. Kámrán, anxious to be on good terms with so formidable an antagonist, readily ceded it to him ; and Sher Shah lost no time in building a strong fort at Rhotas on the Jhelum as a protection against invasion. That he might be able to move an army quickly to any point in his wide dominions, he constructed a road stretching from Gaur to his new fort in the Punjab, a distance of 2000 miles. Along both sides of it he planted trees, dug wells and built serais. Three other similar but shorter strategic roads, traversing different portions of his empire, were also made by him.

His administration.—Sher Shah was not only a great general, he was also a great administrator. Though almost continually occupied during his short reign with military operations, he found time to devise an admirable system of revenue collections, and to effect many improvements in civil government. It may justly be claimed for him that he laid the foundations of the successful system of administration adopted by his great successors the Moghul emperors. Hindus for the first time under a Pathan emperor of Delhi were exempt from state persecution, and were even employed in such important posts as those of revenue accountants. The land revenue was fixed at one-fourth of the produce, and means devised to prevent, as far as possible, undue exactions. Sher Shah was the strongest and ablest Afghan ruler that ever sat upon the throne of Delhi. None of his predecessors had realised as he did the duties and responsibilities of a king towards his subjects ; and Northern India enjoyed under him a sense of security such as it had never known under any previous Muhammedan monarch.

His campaign against the Rajputs and death.— After making himself master of the Punjab he turned his attention to the Rajput chiefs in the south of his dominions, who now that they had had some time to recover from the crushing defeats inflicted upon them by Babar, had recommenced according to their custom to harass their Muhammadan neighbours. Malwa was overrun, and the fortresses of Gwalior and Ranthambhor reduced, and then siege was laid to the stronghold of Raysia. With characteristic treachery Sher Shah promised the garrison that if they would submit he would spare their lives and property: but when they opened the gates on the faith of this promise, he massacred them to a man. For while he was just and capable as a ruler, he was an unscrupulous, crafty, and cruel enemy. The next year he invaded Marwar, and after narrowly escaping defeat at the hands of a Marwar chief, succeeded in subjugating it. In 1545 while engaged in besieging Kalinjar, an almost impregnable fortress, he was mortally injured by an explosion of gunpowder. Although dying and in great pain, he continued to direct the operations up to the last, and expired just as the news of its capture was received.

Hemu.— His second son, Islam Shah, commonly known as Salim, succeeded him, and worthily followed in his footsteps till his death in 1552. Then Muhammad Adil, a nephew of Sher Shah, usurped the throne, after foully murdering Islam's little son with his own hand, and by his vices and his folly did his best to undo all the good work of his predecessors. He had, however, the good luck to select as his Prime Minister a man of uncommon abilities, both as a general and an administrator. This remarkable man, whose name was Hemu, was a low caste Hindu, and had been a petty shopkeeper till Muhammad took him into his service. He was, moreover, deformed and of a weakly constitution. While his master was wasting his treasures, and indulging in debauchery with low and dissolute companions, Hemu, triumphing over his infirmities and natural disadvantages, was administering the empire with conspicuous success. The proud Pathan nobles, however, could not endure the humiliation of being governed by a man of Hemu's antecedents, and they rose in rebellion. But one after another they were attacked and defeated in a series

of brilliant campaigns by the man they had so much despised.

Return of Humayun.—But while Hemu was busy quelling insurrections in the eastern districts, Humayun with the assistance of the King of Persia had made himself master of Kabul. He had for some time been watching the course of events in India, and he rightly judged that the moment was favourable for a descent upon the country. In 1555 he gained a decisive victory at Sirhind over Sikander, the Governor of the Punjab ; and in the autumn of the same year marched upon Delhi, which submitted to him without a struggle. He was now again, after an absence of twelve years, restored to his kingdom. But he was not destined to enjoy for long the throne which he had regained after so many years of exile. Six months after his return in the month of January, 1556, he was so severely injured by a fall from the terrace of his library that he died from the effects, after lingering four days.

CHAPTER II.

MOGHUL SUPREMACY.

Akbar the Great, 1556-1605.—At the time of Humayun's death his son Akbar was engaged with Bairam Khan his father's faithful companion in exile, in subjugating the Punjab. Akbar was then not fourteen years of age, but during his short life had experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune, and had already gained such a practical acquaintance with affairs, that he was shrewd and prudent beyond his years. He was, moreover, by nature manly and self-reliant. His first act on his accession to the throne was to appoint Bairam Khan his Prime Minister and to entrust him with the regency. His choice could not have fallen upon a better man for the task, for Bairam was a man of iron will and a consummate general, capable both of dealing with Akbar's unruly subjects and directing his forces in the coming struggle. Humayun had had no time

to consolidate his power, and his son's position was therefore a precarious one ; for Delhi and Agra and the country round alone had been properly subjugated. Sikander was making a determined effort to regain the Punjab, and Hemu was still undefeated and holding the country to the east in the name of his master, Muhammad Adil.

Defeat of Hemu.—As soon as he heard of Humayun's death, Hemu marched westward with a formidable army,

captured Agra, and expelled the Moghul garrison from Delhi. Then without loss of time he advanced against Akbar and Bairam Khan. On the news of Hemu's approach with his unbeaten troops, the majority of Akbar's counsellors advised him to retire on Kabul rather than undertake the hopeless task of attempting to recover his father's Indian dominions. But Akbar, who was supported by Bairam Khan, was not inclined to yield without a struggle, and determined to give battle to the victorious Hemu.

AKBAR.



Gathering together all the forces he could muster, he advanced to meet him. The two armies encountered each other in the autumn of 1556 at Panipat, and once more on that historic field the Moghuls and the Afghans contended for the sovereignty of India. But jealousy and dissension were at work to ruin the Afghan cause. Hemu was suspected of aspiring to occupy his master's throne, and the Afghan chiefs chafed against his leadership. Muhammad Adil, who should have led them, was as usual absent. In the battle the Afghans would not obey Hemu's orders, but fought recklessly and without concerted action, upsetting all his plans. The well-disciplined Moghuls, there-

fore, under the skilful direction of Bairam Khan, though far outnumbered, gained a decisive victory. Hemu, though wounded, would not leave the battlefield, and, in the general rout which followed, was taken captive. He was executed the same day, and with his death the empire of Northern India passed finally from the Afghans to the Moghuls.

Defeat of Sikandar.—By the victory of Panipat and the death of Hemu, Akbar was left the master of Northern India, for Adil shortly after died, and he proceeded without opposition to take possession of Agra and Delhi. But his position was still by no means secure; for early in the following year, 1557, news was brought to him that Sikandar Sur, the Afghan governor of the Punjab whom his father had defeated at Sirhind, issuing from the strong fort of Mankot, had defeated the Moghul troops left in the Punjab to watch him. His victory encouraged the disaffected Afghan nobles to try conclusions with the Moghuls once again, and they flocked to him from all the neighbouring districts. The situation was critical, but Akbar wisely lost no time in dealing with it. Marching rapidly upon Lahore, he forced Sikandar Sur to retire, and drove him back to Mankot. For six months he besieged the place, and then Sikandar finding further resistance hopeless, surrendered. Akbar magnanimously allowed him to retire to Bengal, after exacting a promise from him that he would not again take up arms against him.

Bairam's regency.—During the next two years Bairam Khan continued in his double office of regent and tutor to the young king. His skill and firmness were much needed, for the Moghul power was by no means firmly established. Only the Punjab and the country round about Delhi had been subdued, and the Afghans were still masters of a large part of India. But Bairam's methods though admirably fitted for the pacification of a turbulent kingdom were the reverse of conciliatory; and as the country settled down his rule came to be regarded as unduly harsh and oppressive. His iron will and his relentlessness made for him many enemies; and they were not slow to point out to their youthful sovereign that the regent was administering his dominions without reference to him, and that his cruel

and overbearing conduct were estranging many of the king's loyal subjects. Akbar, though not unmindful of the debt of gratitude that he owed to his faithful servant, had observed with displeasure the way in which Bairam had on more than one occasion arbitrarily put to death men whose only fault appeared to be an enmity to the regent. Moreover Bairam had in his self-sufficiency omitted to take account of the fact that his master was rapidly developing from a boy into a man of singularly strong character. The relations between Akbar and Bairam could therefore only grow more strained as time went on.

Bairam dismissed.—At length in the year 1560 Akbar, who was now in his eighteenth year, determined to take the government into his own hands. Bairam had frequently expressed an intention of retiring from the regency, as soon as he could do so without damage to the interests of the young Emperor, in order that he might be able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca before old age should incapacitate him from taking so long a journey. Akbar, therefore, while issuing a proclamation to the effect that he had assumed the administration of affairs and that he alone was to be obeyed, sent a message to Bairam informing him that he was now free to undertake the pilgrimage he had so often expressed a wish to make. It was not to be expected that Bairam would tamely submit to so summary a dismissal. But Akbar was well aware of the nature of the man with whom he had to deal, and prudently made preparations to meet rebellious opposition. It was well that he did so; for Bairam, who had quitted Agra, before the announcement of the proclamation, was in a few months in open revolt against his master. But Bairam soon found that he could not as a rebel command the ready obedience to which he had been accustomed as a regent, and that the influence he had so long and so powerfully exercised was no longer his. After a short and ineffectual resistance he was forced to throw himself on Akbar's mercy. Akbar was of too noble a nature to forget that the old man now suing for his life, had been his own and his father's most loyal and devoted servant. He readily forgave him, provided him with money, and left him, now thoroughly humbled, to proceed on his pilgrimage to Mecca. But Bairam was

never destined to carry out his project; for while at Guzerat, completing his preparations for the journey, he was assassinated by an Afghan whose father he had put to death some years before.

Akbar quells rebellion.—After the defeat of Bairam, Akbar returned to Delhi to assume the full responsibility of the empire. His position was still far from secure. The Punjab, Ajmir, Gwalior, Delhi, and Agra acknowledged his sovereignty, but in the east the Afghans were still all powerful. Akbar's army, which was officered by Moghul and Turkoman adventurers, was attached to him only by the hope of plunder, while his foremost generals were more anxious to increase their own power than to support his authority. The next seven years, indeed, were mainly spent by him in putting down rebellions among his own followers. First Khan Zaman, who had driven the Afghans from Jaunpore, believing himself strong enough to resist his youthful sovereign, raised the standard of revolt; next Adam Khan, the conqueror of Malwa, tried to make himself independent; and then Asaf Khan, the Governor of Karra, having possessed himself of much booty by the plunder of a neighbouring Hindu rajah, rebelled rather than give it up to his master. But like Bairam, they were destined to find that Akbar, though so young, was not a man to be trifled with, and that they were no match for him, either in generalship or readiness of resource. Akbar never gave his enemies time to consolidate their power; for by forced marches he was upon them long before they expected him, and had dealt them a crushing blow before they could concentrate their forces. Lastly his brother, the Governor of Kabul, treacherously invaded the Punjab, while Akbar was engaged in subduing his rebellious generals. All were in turn defeated, being unable to resist the suddenness and vigour of his attack.

Conciliates the Rajputs.—By 1566, Akbar had succeeded in establishing peace throughout his empire, and was now free to embark on schemes of conquest at the expense of his Hindu neighbours. Rajputana, which had so long been a thorn in the side of the Delhi Empire, naturally claimed his early attention. But Akbar, while following the traditional policy of the Kings of Delhi, was

wiser than his predecessors ; for though he was just as eager to conquer, he desired to conciliate rather than to crush those whom he forced to submit to his authority. The Raja of Ambar, the modern Jaipur, became his personal friend, and even gave his daughter in marriage to the Emperor. In return Akbar appointed the Raja's son to a high military post. The Raja of Marwar, now Jodhpur, and other Rajput princes, after a brief struggle, submitted, and became loyal servants of their conqueror. The granddaughter of the Jodhpur Raja was given in marriage to Akbar's eldest son, Prince Salim. But the proud Rana of Mewar, Uday Singh, rather than yield, retired to the rocky fastnesses of the Aravalli hills, leaving behind him a garrison of 800 Rajputs to defend his fortress of Chittor.

Resistance of Udaipur.—The defence of this fort by the Rajputs, under their brave leader Jay Mal, is one of the most stirring events in the history of those times. Akbar conducted the siege in person, yet with all his skill and determination he could not overcome the defenders. But one night Jay Mal, having too rashly exposed himself upon the fortifications, was shot by the Emperor's own hand. It is said that the garrison were so depressed at this incident that they concluded that further resistance was impossible, and in despair, rushing out, sword in hand, upon the besiegers, perished to a man. Uday Singh, in the depths of the Aravalli hills, managed to maintain his independence till his death nine years after this event. His son, Pratap Singh, the founder of the modern Udaipur, regained after many hardships and reverses much of his father's territory. Alone of all the Rajput princes it is the proud boast of the Ranas of Udaipur that no ruler of their house ever submitted to the indignity of a family alliance with the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. In 1570, by the capture of the two strong hill forts of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar, Akbar completed the conquest of Rajputana. Then the state of anarchy into which the Muhammedan kingdom of Guzerat had fallen tempted him to invade it. In the course of a few months the whole country was subdued and annexed to the empire.

Conquest of Bengal.—Bengal was now the only part of Northern India that did not owe allegiance to Akbar.

The Afghan nobles, driven further and further east by the expansion of the Moghul Empire, had found an asylum in Bengal at the court of the Afghan ruler, Daud Khan. But they had not yet learnt the uselessness of struggling with the Moghul, and they were of such a turbulent disposition that they could neither agree together nor live at peace with their powerful neighbour. They had for years been raiding Moghul territory, and fighting on the borders had been continuous. Akbar, now that he had subdued and pacified all the rest of Northern India, lost no time in dealing with them. An army was accordingly dispatched against them, and in the year 1575, at the battle of Agmahal, the power of the Afghans was completely broken, and the province passed to the Moghuls. But the country was soon in a state of rebellion again, for the Moghul land-holders, who had been put in possession of the estates of the Pathans, threw off their allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi. In their attempt to assert their independence they were supported by the Afghan remnant; and in a short time Orissa and part of Bengal were again in open rebellion. Akbar had had by this time sufficient experience of Afghan turbulence and Moghul treachery. He therefore determined to try a new experiment, and, as soon as the rising was put down, entrusted the government of it to a Hindu, Raja Todar Mal, a man of approved loyalty and ability, both as a general and an organiser. So well did the plan answer that the governorship continued to be held by Hindus down to the time of Akbar's death.

Annexation of Kashmir.—Kashmir had been from ancient times a Hindu kingdom, but towards the middle of the fourteenth century, a Muhammedan adventurer put to death the queen, then reigning alone, and succeeded in establishing himself upon the throne. The dynasty descended from him held the throne for a hundred years. Then the Thibetans invaded the country, destroyed the government, and reduced the wretched inhabitants to a state of the greatest misery. The fertility and beauty of the country, and the healthiness of its climate, have at all times made Kashmir the envy of surrounding kingdoms. Akbar particularly coveted the possession of it, and under the pretext of putting an end to the state of anarchy

existing there he sent an expedition into Kashmir and annexed it in 1587.

Conquest of Sind and Kandahar.—In 1592 the Muhammedan kingdom of Sind, which had for some time been showing symptoms of decay, collapsed, and Akbar seized upon the occasion to take possession of the country. In accordance with his wise and kindly practice he treated the deposed ruler with becoming respect, and made him a nobleman of his court. In 1594 Kandahar, in similar circumstances, was invaded by the Imperial troops, and likewise fell into his hands and was incorporated in his empire. But though Akbar now claimed sovereignty over territory stretching as far northwards as Kabul and Kandahar, he was never able thoroughly to subdue the wild tribes living among the rocky hills and valleys round about the Khyber Pass. In an attempt to subjugate them his troops on one occasion suffered a severe defeat, and their Hindu general, Raja Birbal, Akbar's intimate friend and trusted councillor, was killed.

Fall of Vijayanagar.—During the early part of his reign an event occurred in the Deccan which, though unconnected with his rule, was of considerable importance in the history of Southern India. This was the overthrow of the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Under a great ruler, Krishnadeva, Vijayanagar had asserted its superiority over its Muhammedan neighbours and had made good its claim to be considered the premier state of Southern India. Its army is said to have numbered no less than 700,000 men, and the wealth of the city and the beauty of its buildings were the wonder and admiration of early European travellers. But with the death of Krishnadeva about 1530 the kingdom began rapidly to decline. War with one or other of its Muhammedan neighbours was almost constant. At length in 1565 the Muhammedan kings of Bidar, Bijapur, Golconda, and Ahmadnagar, incensed at the conduct of Rama Raja, the ruler of Vijayanagar, who had behaved with great barbarity in a war against Ahmadnagar, made common cause against him, invaded his country, and utterly defeated him at Talikot. Signal vengeance was taken by the conquerors upon the vanquished Hindus. Rama Raja, who fell into

their hands, was put to death with tortures, his city sacked, and his people slaughtered. So complete was the havoc wrought that Vijayanagar never recovered from the blow. The victors spent six months in ransacking the city and demolishing its principal buildings, and, when they left, it had been so completely wrecked that it had to be abandoned as a hopeless mass of ruins. The kingdom sunk at once into insignificance and practically disappeared from history. But a descendant of its last king, who ruled in the first half of the seventeenth century over a petty principality at a place called Chandragiri, is still remembered as having granted to the English the strip of land upon which the city of Madras was founded.

Moghul expedition to the Deccan.—After the overthrow of Vijayanagar the Muhammedan kingdoms resumed the strife among themselves. At length in 1572 the King of Ahmadnagar conquered and annexed the neighbouring kingdom of Berar. Ahmadnagar became at once the most important kingdom in the Deccan, and seemed to have a great future before it. But in a few years, by the factiousness of its nobles and princes, it was brought to the verge of ruin. In 1595 a party which had temporarily obtained possession of the capital invoked the aid of the Moghuls against its rivals. Akbar, having no other enterprise on hand at the time, readily responded to the invitation, seeing in it a chance of extending his dominions to the southward. A large army was despatched under his son, Prince Murad; but before it reached Ahmadnagar the faction which had called it in had been expelled from the capital. The impending danger had united all parties in the state, and the rival factions, laying aside their differences, joined in opposing the invaders. By common consent Chand Bibi, or Chand Sultana, a royal princess, was appointed regent of the state. She was a woman of masculine vigour, and had long been famed in the Deccan for her spirit and her intellect, and though now in her fiftieth year had lost nothing of her energy. Not only did she organise a complete defence, but when the Moghuls delivered the attack she directed in person the operations to repel them. Thanks mainly to her exertions and her

inspiring personality the expedition was unable to effect the capture of the city, and at length withdrew on the condition that Berar should be ceded to the Moghul emperor.

Fall of Ahmadnagar and Khandesh.—Chand Sultana had thus saved the state; but hardly were the Moghuls gone when civil war broke out once more, and in a riot which took place within the city the brave Sultana was murdered. The Moghuls again interfered on the pretext of restoring order, invested the capital and after a short siege captured it in 1600. A portion of the kingdom was annexed to the Moghul Empire and its king removed to the fortress of Gwalior. The little kingdom of Khandesh, which lay to the westward of Berar; and therefore now within the borders of the Moghul Empire, was also annexed at the same time. It contained the famous fort of Asirgarh, which, besides being almost impregnable, commanded the highway to Southern India. Had it not been for the outbreak of a virulent pestilence among its defenders after a siege of nearly a year it is doubtful whether it would not have held out.

Akbar's system of government.—Akbar was now the master of an empire stretching from Kandahar and Kabul in the west and north to Bengal and Orissa in the east and Ahmadnagar in the south. But he did not, as former great conquerors had done, rest content with maintaining a nominal sovereignty over his vast dominions. He made it his endeavour to exercise a real control over the whole. For this purpose he parcelled out his empire into fifteen *subahs* or provinces, over each of which he placed a governor, with complete civil and military control, but answerable for his conduct of the government to the Central Authority. The governor was assisted by a *dewan* or revenue collector, and a *soujdar* or military commander. Justice was administered by a *mir-i-adl* or chief justice, assisted by a *kazi* or law officer, to conduct the trial and explain the law. The city police were placed under a *kotwal* or police superintendent, with magisterial powers; but in the country districts the landholders and villagers were left to their own devices. Thus the Hindu village system remained intact, and the peasantry had still to protect themselves as best they could against oppressive

landholders, extortionate revenue collectors, and the attacks of bands of robbers.

His revenue system.—Akbar did not alter Sher Shah's revenue system, but extended its operations to new tracts of country. It is worth while, however, to observe that while Sher Shah had been content with one-fourth of the gross produce as rent, Akbar required one-third. Under Raja Todar Mal a fresh revenue settlement was carried out, and all cultivated lands were surveyed and classified according to their productive power. It was at first intended to repeat the survey annually, but as this was found too troublesome and expensive, it was afterwards made every ten years. So strictly was the Imperial revenue exacted that Akbar received yearly from this source more than is now taken by the Indian government, in spite of the enormous extension of cultivation that has occurred during the period of British rule.

Precaution against mutiny.—One of the greatest dangers to which a ruler or a governor, who is obliged to maintain a large army is subjected, is a rising among his troops. It was necessary for a despotic ruler, such as the Emperor of Delhi, to maintain a large standing army to provide against all emergencies ; but this army, which was intended for his protection, was often also the chief source of his anxiety. Mutinies would frequently break out, and popular leaders would be joined by large numbers of discontented soldiers in their attempts to assert their independence, or to overthrow the central government itself. Akbar successfully met this danger by attaching the soldiers to himself. In place of the old system, by which the generals were provided with *jagirs* or grants of land out of which to pay the troops under their command, he arranged as far as possible that the soldiers should receive money payments direct. Where this was not possible, he made the military landholders dependent for their holdings upon himself. Thus the officers and the rank and file were alike interested in maintaining the emperor's authority.

Wise treatment of Hindus.—None of Akbar's predecessors had ever considered it necessary to conciliate their Hindu subjects ; scarcely any had even refrained from persecuting them. Thus when, as so frequently happened,

Muhammedan governors rebelled, a Delhi emperor not only could not rely upon Hindu support, but if there rebellion became formidable, had to face the added risk of a Hindu rising. Akbar was the first emperor to adopt a policy of conciliation towards the Hindus. We have seen how he bound certain of the great Rajput princes to him by marriage connections, and how he appointed Hindu noblemen to important positions of trust both in the army and the administration. Indeed the ablest and most trusted of his generals and administrators was a Hindoo named Raja Man Singh. Hindus were admitted among the number of his most familiar friends, and no one enjoyed a closer intimacy with the emperor than the witty and accomplished Brahman, Raja Birbal. But that which did more than anything else to reconcile his Hindu subjects to Muhammedan rule was the abolition of the hated *jizya*, or poll-tax, on non-Muhammedans, and the remission of the taxes levied on Hindu pilgrims. His treatment of his Hindu subjects displays the emperor's character in a very pleasant light. He showed the deepest interest in their welfare; but while he respected their laws and customs, he would not countenance such of their rites as he considered cruel or unreasonable. He forbade child marriages and the compulsory immolation of widows upon their husbands' pyres; and he put a stop to trials by ordeal and legalised the re-marriage of Hindu widows. He was rewarded for his wise policy towards his Hindu subjects by gaining in return their loyalty and affection. It was largely by their aid that he was enabled to subdue the Pathan princes and nobles of Northern India, and that the forces of rebellion were kept in check in all parts of his vast dominions throughout his long reign.

His religious toleration.—Akbar's liberal-minded policy towards Hindus did not please the more bigoted section of his Muhammedan subjects; and there were not wanting those who attributed the broadness of his views in matters of religion to the influence of his Hindu wives upon him. It is certain that, as he grew older, he grew more tolerant of other religious systems, and less strict in his observance of the tenets of Islam. But though he was not a devout Musalman, he was deeply interested in questions of religion, and an earnest seeker after divine truth.

He was accustomed in the evenings to hold assemblies constantly at which the doctors of various religions argued and disputed before him, each in favour of the teachings of his own faith. Hindus, Buddhists, Musalmans, and Christians alike were represented at these disputations, and were listened to by the emperor with perfect impartiality.

Abul Fazl and Abul Faizi.—In his religious speculations, and in his liberal policy, Akbar was encouraged by two men in particular. Abul Faizi and Abul Fazl were brothers who entered the emperor's service, one in the twelfth, and the other in the eighteenth year of his reign. Both were men of irreproachable character, great learning, and liberal views. Abul Faizi's name is still revered as that of one of the greatest Persian poets that India has produced. He was, moreover, a diligent student of Sanskrit, and, by means of Persian translations, introduced Akbar to the poetry and philosophy of the Hindus. Abul Fazl rose by his administrative ability to the post of Prime Minister, and to be the most trusted adviser of his sovereign. Like his brother, he applied himself to letters, and produced a great work, the *Akbar Namah*, a history of Akbar's reign, which has been of the greatest value to historians. It contains, amongst other matters of interest and importance, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, a statistical survey of the empire, full of information regarding Akbar's system of administration. The brothers were men of great intellect, and deeply read in religion and philosophy, but study and reflection had led them to abandon many of the doctrines of Islam, and they had come to be regarded by the orthodox party as little better than atheists. It is small wonder, therefore, that zealous Muhammedans regarded them with distrust, and hated them as the perverters of their sovereign. In his old age, false friends and flatterers instigated Akbar to found a new religion compounded of various faiths, and to proclaim himself a heaven-sent prophet. We need not dwell upon this last infirmity of a noble mind, but it is much to the discredit of Abul Fazl that he not only did not restrain him, but encouraged him in these extravagant absurdities.

Conduct of his sons.—Akbar's old age was clouded by many sorrows, chief among which was the conduct of his sons. In 1599, Sultan Murad died through the

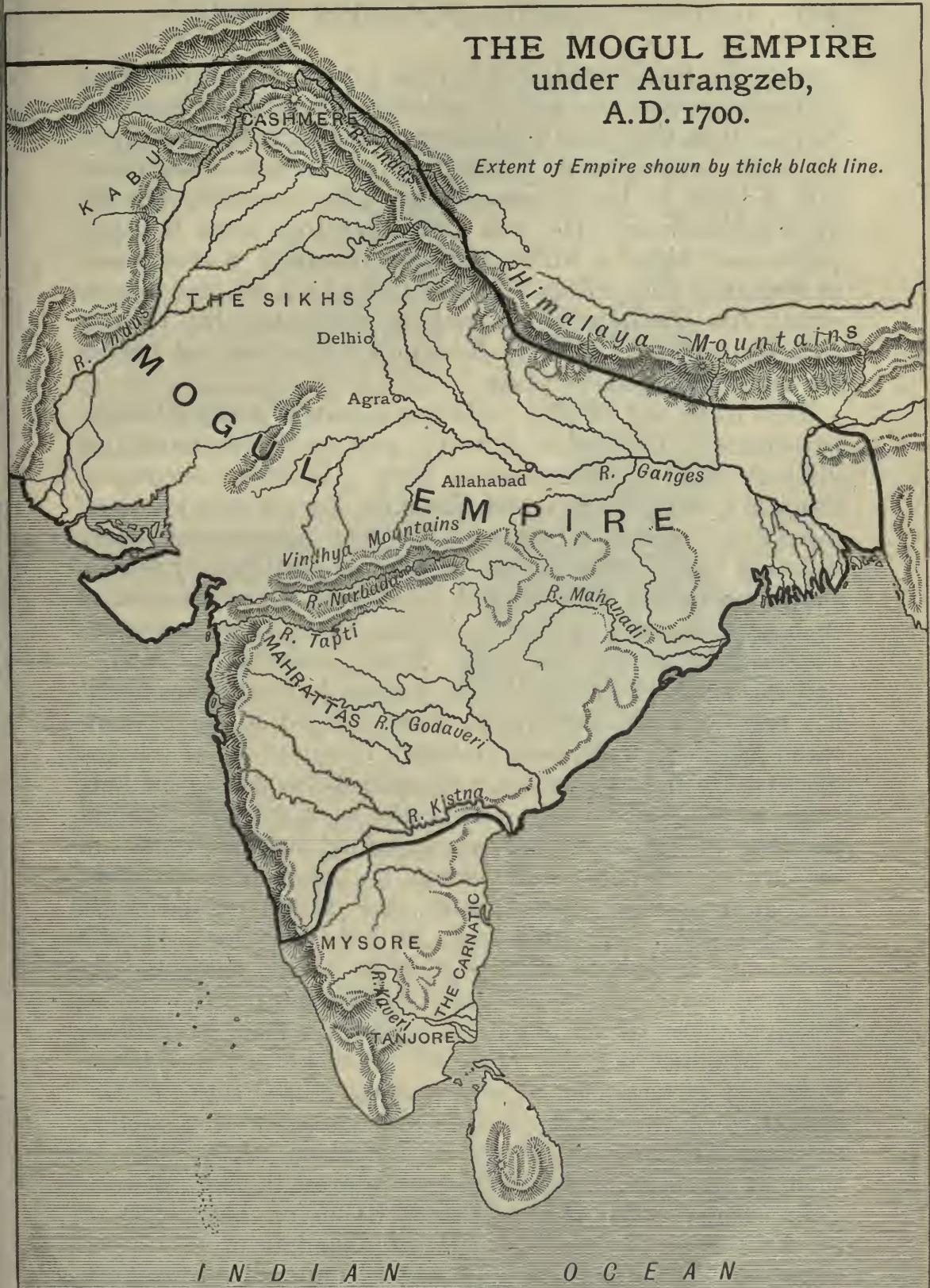
effects of continued intemperance. In 1601, Salim, his eldest son, instigated no doubt by the Muhammedan party which was scandalised at the emperor's religious views, rebelled against him. His revolt was easily suppressed, but, instead of punishing him, his forgiving father appointed him Viceroy of Bengal and Orissa. Salim, however, showed no signs of repentance, and spent his time chiefly at Allahabad in drunkenness and debauchery, and in plotting against his father. At length he actually went so far as to cause the Prime Minister, Abul Fazl, to be assassinated. The news of Abul Fazl's death was a great blow to Akbar, and he was visibly shaken by it. A year or two later Sultan Danyal, his third son, also fell a victim to intemperate habits.

Death of Akbar.—This quick succession of troubles told greatly on Akbar's health, and it became clear to all that his end was not far off. Salim's enemies at court now did all they could to persuade the emperor to pass him over and nominate his grandson Khusru, Salim's son, as his successor. Thus the old man's few remaining days were darkened by intrigues within his own palace. The next year, feeling that he was failing fast, and desiring to put an end to the plots and counter plots going on around him, the emperor sent for Salim, was reconciled to him, and nominated him his successor. He did not survive this event many days, for in the autumn of the same year he died at Agra, under circumstances which gave rise to the suspicion that he was poisoned.

His character.—Akbar's greatness, for he was the greatest Muhammedan ruler that ever reigned in Hindustan, was due to a combination of remarkable qualities. Besides bestowing upon him an excellent understanding, nature had endowed him with an inspiring personality. He was a handsome man, slightly above the middle height, possessed of great physical strength and an iron constitution. His forehead was broad and his countenance open and dignified, his speech and manners were courteous and attractive, and his bearing was on all occasions noble and kingly. Added to his mental and physical qualifications, he was brave without rashness, and, in the hour of danger, cool and deliberate. Though generous and affectionate,

THE MOGUL EMPIRE under Aurangzeb, A.D. 1700.

Extent of Empire shown by thick black line.



and averse from bloodshed, he could be stern and relentless on occasion, and was as well able to make himself feared as loved. But the quality which most distinguished him from all other emperors of Hindustan, and which contributed not a little to his success as an administrator, was his open mindedness. He was altogether free from the prejudice and bigotry which were so generally characteristic of Muhammedan rulers. It was this which enabled him to attach his Hindu subjects to him, and made his reign a time of prosperity such as Northern India had not known for many hundreds of years.

His manner of life.—He was a man of many interests, passionately devoted to hunting and manly exercises, yet diligent in the performance of duty. Besides encouraging literature, both Persian and Sanskrit, he interested himself deeply in affairs of state. He was accustomed every morning in full assembly to dispose of petitions by whomsoever presented to him, and to redress the grievances of such as clamoured to him for justice, though they might be the meanest of his subjects. Every evening he held a private audience, at which the nobles, holding office about his person or at the capital, were obliged to be present, when affairs of state were debated, or questions of religion discussed. It was a constant practice of his during his long reign to proceed on tour during the cold weather through portions of his dominions, accompanied by his court and his army. Wherever he went he listened to petitions and administered justice with the same regularity as at his capital. In this way he not only made himself personally known to a large number of his subjects, but was enabled to gain at first hand information of the way in which portions of his empire at a distance from his capital, were administered by his provincial officers. Such a system of government was admirably adapted to the consolidation of his empire ; and nothing was so well calculated to attach his subjects to him as his ready accessibility to them at all times, and his personal interest in their affairs.

Jahangir, 1605-1627.—Prince Salim on his accession to the throne assumed the title of Jahangir or conqueror of the world. His assumption of the Imperial Sovereignty was naturally regarded with considerable misgivings. He

had been a rebellious son, a drunkard like his brothers, and notorious for his vice and cruelty. But the responsibilities of sovereignty seem to have worked a change in his character ; for his rule was on the whole wise and statesman-like, and he showed a considerable amount of his father's capacity for business, as well as his love of justice. During his reign the empire continued for the most part to enjoy internal peace, and Akbar's measures of reform were carefully adhered to, and his system of administration further elaborated. The emperor, like his father, sat every day in public audience to hear complaints and redress grievances, and was always genuinely anxious to give his subjects every opportunity of direct access to him. Outwardly, he professed himself to be a good Musalman, was during the day time staid and sober in his demeanour, and even issued an edict against intemperance and punished those of his Muhammedan subjects who made use of wine. But the vice of drunkenness had taken too strong a hold upon him ever to be shaken off, and throughout the whole of his reign he was accustomed to indulge in almost nightly orgies of intemperance.

Rebellion of Khusru.—Shortly after his accession, Khusru, his eldest son, who had schemed so hard during the last days of Akbar's reign to be nominated the emperor's successor, fearing his father's wrath, fled to the Punjab, seized Lahore, and there raised the standard of revolt. Jahangir proceeded against him in person at once, captured Lahore, and took him prisoner on the banks of the Jhelum, as he was in the act of escaping to Kabul.



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Khusru was kept in confinement for the remainder of his life ; but those who had had the rashness to support him were treated with merciless severity. Seven hundred of his adherents, many of whom belonged to the rising sect of the Sikhs, were impaled in a line outside the city of Lahore as a lesson to rebels against the Imperial authority.

Submission of Udaipur.—In 1614 the Rana of Udaipur, who had so stubbornly resisted Akbar, was forced to submit to Jahangir. The credit of his subjugation was due to Prince Khurram, the emperor's third son, who, as commander of the Imperial forces against the Rana, greatly distinguished himself in the conduct of the campaign. The Rana was treated with great magnanimity ; his kingdom was restored to him, and his son was appointed to a high military command in the Imperial army.

Malik Amber.—During the greater part of his reign Jahangir was troubled by affairs in the Deccan. It will be remembered that Akbar had only succeeded after much severe fighting in annexing the northern part of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. After the fall of the capital, Malik Amber, an Abyssinian general in the service of the ruler of the state, succeeded in establishing a new capital at Kirki, afterwards called Aurungabad, and on three occasions defeated Moghul armies sent against him. At length, in 1610, he actually recovered Ahmadnagar. As the Moghul governor of the Deccan seemed unable to cope with him, Jahangir sent Prince Kharram against him ; but, though he succeeded in compelling Malik Amber to retire from Ahmadnagar, he could not subdue him altogether, and Malik Amber maintained his independence till his death in 1629.

Sir Thomas Roe's visit.—In the year 1615 Sir Thomas Roe, an oriental scholar sent by James I. as an ambassador from the English Court to Jahangir, arrived in India at the port of Surat and made his way northwards through Burhānpur, the seat of the Moghul governor of the Deccan, and Chittor to Ajmir. Here he fell in with the emperor and his court proceeding on tour to Gujerat. He was granted a magnificent reception, courteously entertained by Jahangir, and permitted to accompany the court on its journey south. The object of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy

was to advance the interests of an English company trading in the Moghul's dominions, and he was successful in securing for it many valuable concessions. His letters written during his visit contain matter of much historical interest, and enable us to judge of the condition of the country on the evidence of an impartial and enlightened eye-witness. While struck with wonder at the splendour of the court, and the magnificence of the Moghul Emperor, he noticed that the nobles were in debt, the administration corrupt, and the peasantry living in abject poverty. Everywhere were signs of misgovernment and decaying prosperity. Bands of robbers and outlaws infested the country, plundering the villages, and even cutting off stragglers from the Imperial camp. The cities of the Deccan bore a neglected appearance, and much land had fallen out of cultivation. The scheme of administration, for want of some effective system of central supervision and control, failed to secure good government in the outlying provinces of the empire.

Nur Jahan's influence.—An account of Jahangir's reign would be incomplete without some mention of his wife, Nur Jahan, the 'Light of the World.' This remarkable woman, who became the emperor's wife in the year 1611, came of a poor but noble Persian family. Jahangir, drunkard and debauchee as he was, seems to have been sincerely attached to her, and to have had so high an opinion of her intelligence as to have consulted her upon all matters of state. Till his death her influence was paramount in the state, and it was necessary for those who would avoid the emperor's displeasure, not to cross the will of his imperious wife. Her ambition for power, and her talent for intrigue, led, on more than one occasion, to a grave crisis. First, Prince Khurram having incurred her resentment, was goaded into rebellion against his father by the news that she was working to secure the nomination of his younger brother Shahriyar as heir to the throne, and had succeeded so far in estranging his father from him that the emperor, forgetful of his services, had already decided upon his humiliation. Muhabat Khan, a general of great experience who was sent to the Deccan against him, quickly succeeded in overcoming him, and forced him to quit the province and fly to Bengal. Here, after some further

resistance, he was compelled to submit. Then Muhabat Khan, though he had fought under Akbar, and was the most eminent man in the empire, because his influence with Jahangir had aroused her jealousy, found himself arraigned on charges of oppression and corruption, and ordered instantly to repair to court. Jahangir was on the banks of the river Behat on his way to Kabul when Muhabat Khan arrived, and the camp was at the time being crossed over the river. The troops had already crossed, and the emperor and his court were about to follow. Muhabat, who well knew that his ruin was determined upon, conceived the bold but desperate plan of taking the emperor prisoner. By the aid of the Rajput body-guard, whom Nur Jahan had offended, he successfully carried out his daring scheme; and for nearly a whole year Jahangir was a captive in his hands. Then Nur Jahan, who had joined him in his captivity, succeeded by a clever stratagem in liberating the emperor. Muhabat Khan fled to the Deccan, and there joined Prince Khurram, who was once more in open revolt. But before the emperor could take steps to punish them, he was seized with a severe attack of asthma and died.

Discovery of the sea route to India.—In the course of the narrative of Jahangir's reign, mention has been made of an English company of merchants trading in the dominions of the Moghul Emperor. It will be as well, therefore, at this point to say something of the intercourse which, by means of commerce, sprang up during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between Europe and India. It has been mentioned, on page 57, that long before the dawn of history an extensive sea-borne trade in Indian merchandise was carried on with Babylon from the ports of Western India. With the expansion of the Roman Empire towards the East, Indian commerce began to find its way into Europe, and soon a flourishing trade sprang up. It was carried by two routes, one through the Red Sea to Alexandria, the other and older route, up the Persian Gulf to Palmyra. When through the jealousy of Rome Palmyra was destroyed, the latter route was abandoned, and later when the Arabs conquered Egypt and Syria the former also was given up, and the main stream of trade passed across Central Asia to the Black Sea and on to Constantinople.

When Constantinople, weakened by misrule and Muhammedan invasions, gradually declined, the trade with the East was monopolised by the cities of Italy, Venice and Genoa. The Venetians and the Genoese, knowing that their power and wealth had been acquired through this lucrative commerce and depended almost wholly upon it, jealously guarded their monopoly. European States that had no ports upon the shores of the Mediterranean were completely shut out from participation in it, and it therefore became an object of ambition to the more enterprising among them to find a direct sea route to India which would enable them to tap the trade at its source. To Portugal belongs the credit of the discovery. After years of patient effort, in which her bold and skilful mariners won their way by successive stages as far as the Cape of Good Hope, her enterprise was at length crowned with success. In the year 1498 the famous Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope and skirting along the Eastern Coast of Africa, boldly steered across the Indian Ocean and discovered the much sought for sea route to India. In the month of May he reached land and put into the port of Calicut on its western coast. The Raja or Zamorin of Calicut received him well, and after a stay of six months he returned to Portugal with the news of his great discovery. In proof of his statement he brought back with him a cargo of Indian spices and a friendly message from the Zamorin to the King of Portugal.

Portuguese settlement established.—The Portuguese lost no time in taking advantage of his discovery. Two years later a well-equipped expedition was dispatched to India by the newly found route, with a royal commission from the King of Portugal to open up trade with the East. The fleet arrived at Calicut in the year 1500, and at first all went well, but the Muhammedan traders who were accustomed to frequent the place were jealous of the Portuguese, and a serious quarrel arose which put an end to all prospects of trade at that port. The expedition, however, had better luck at Cochin, a city then very little inferior to Calicut, for it succeeded in establishing there a factory, or agency, for the purchase of goods, before it returned to

Portugal. In the year 1503 a fort was built to protect this factory, and a garrison of 150 Portuguese soldiers left to guard it.

Albuquerque.—To Albuquerque, the second governor appointed by the King of Portugal to look after his interests in the East Indies, belongs the credit of having firmly established the Portuguese upon the mainland of India, and of having first given practical shape to the idea of establishing a Portuguese empire in the east. Between



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the years 1509 and 1515, when he died, he succeeded in converting the Indian Ocean into a Christian trade route by destroying the commerce of the Arabs; and by the seizure of Goa in 1510 he gave to his countrymen that which was essential for a maritime empire, a fine harbour in a central situation.

Causes of Portuguese failure.—But their dreams of empire were their undoing, for they led them into embarking upon schemes which were beyond their strength. Their zealous efforts to spread their faith in the countries which

they claimed as subject to their dominion, and their uncompromising attitude to the Hindu and Muhammedan religions, stirred up the deep resentment of the conquered peoples and provoked the animosity of neighbouring rulers. Moreover, in their dealings they were often harsh and cruel, and their officials not seldom arrogant and corrupt. In time, the drain upon the resources of Portugal to maintain sufficient European soldiers for the defence of its eastern possessions became more than the little state could stand. But an event which helped more than anything else to effect the ruin of its eastern trade was the union of Portugal with Spain under Philip II. in 1580. Not only were Portugal's interests made subservient to those of Spain, but the English and the Dutch, who were at war with Spain, now preyed upon the Portuguese merchant ships as much as upon the Spanish. What was worse, both Dutch and English vessels began to make their appearance in eastern waters, and to compete with the Portuguese for the trade of the Indies.

Successful English rivalry.—So profitable did the English soon find their eastern trade that in the year 1600 a company of merchants was formed in London for the purpose of trading directly with India. The first voyages of the company's ships were highly successful, but they met with serious opposition from the Portuguese. In the year 1612, an expedition consisting of two vessels under the command of Captain Best was attacked by a strong Portuguese fleet at Swally, not far from Surat. A stubborn fight lasting four days ensued, the English trying to force their way through to Surat, and the Portuguese endeavouring to beat them off. In the end the Portuguese, in spite of their overwhelming numbers, had to give way, and the English proceeded in triumph to Surat. This victory was a great blow to the prestige of the Portuguese, who had hitherto been regarded in India as invincible. The English were therefore treated with great respect on landing, and within a year succeeded in establishing factories on Indian soil at Surat, Ahmadabad, and Cambay, in the possession of which they were later assured by a decree of Jahangir, dated 11th of January, 1613. Two years later the Portuguese made another determined effort

to drive out the English and to restore their waning prestige. Hearing that Captain Downton with four English ships had arrived at Surat, the Viceroy of Goa equipped a strong fleet against him and himself took the command. The Portuguese had upwards of 3000 soldiers on board their ships, while the English could not muster more than 800 men all told. Nevertheless after a stubborn fight at the entrance to the harbour the Portuguese were beaten off with a loss of three ships; and though a few days later they were reinforced and renewed the attack, they had no better success. At length, thoroughly dispirited, they withdrew, leaving the English in possession of the harbour. The English had now fully established their reputation; and though at first their trade was nearly ruined by arbitrary exactions, through the tact and firmness of Sir Thomas Roe, then engaged upon his embassy at the Moghul Court, several important privileges were conceded to them. Before the Emperor's death, general permission was granted to them to trade throughout the Moghul Empire, and to exercise jurisdiction over their own servants. Thus did the English succeed in ousting the Portuguese from their monopoly of the Indian trade and in laying the foundation of their Indian Empire.

Shah Jahan, 1627-1658.—On the news of Jahangir's death, Prince Khurram and Muhábat Khan hurried up from the Deccan. Shahriyar, aided by Nur Jahan, had meanwhile made an attempt to seize the throne. Fortunately for Prince Khurram he had a powerful friend at court in the person of Asaf Khan, Jahangir's chief minister. Khurram had married his daughter Mumtaz Mahal, and Asaf Khan was therefore deeply interested in helping him to secure the throne. While Khurram and Muhábat were still upon the way, Asaf Khan, acting with great promptitude, placed the queen mother under restraint, and then collecting an army attacked Shahriyar, defeated him and took him captive. Khurram, therefore, on his arrival found no obstacle in the way of his accession, and at once proclaimed himself Emperor under the name of Shah Jahan, King of the World, a title which his father had conferred upon him after his defeat of the Rana of Udaipur. His first act was to put to death, as a measure of precaution, his rival Shahriyar and two of his nephews.

Fall of Ahmadnagar.—Shortly after his accession, Khan Jahan Lodi, the Viceroy of the Deccan, who was conducting the campaign against Ahmadnagar, rebelled and joined forces with the sons of Malik Amber. He was soon defeated and slain, but Ahmadnagar held out for another six years, till 1636, and then the kingdom was finally incorporated in the Empire. As Bijapur had assisted Ahmadnagar in its struggle against the Moghuls, it was now in its turn attacked. But the campaign against it was unsuccessful, and a peace was shortly concluded by which the King of Bijapur, on condition of being let alone, agreed to pay tribute to the Moghul Emperor.

Rising power of Mahratta chiefs.—The stubborn resistance which the Moghuls encountered at Bijapur was due in great measure to the assistance which the state received from a Hindu general named Shahji Bhonsla and his followers. Shahji had been in the service of the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and after the fall of that state had found employment in Bijapur. His home was at Poona in Maharashtra, but he claimed descent from the family of the Rajput rulers of Udaipur. The Hindu peoples of the Mahratta country or Maharashtra had in spite of invasion and conquest always enjoyed a large measure of independence. They had moreover lost nothing of the hardy and warlike nature for which they had been famous in the days of Houen Tsang, and their Muhammedan rulers had been glad to enrol large numbers of them in their armies. Mahratta generals from time to time had obtained extensive grants of land for distinguished services. Shahji's own land at Poona had been obtained in this way. The destruction of Ahmadnagar by the Moghuls, and the weakening of the other Muhammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, only served to strengthen the power and influence of such Mahratta chiefs as Shaji. In fact the Delhi Emperors in their blind desire to extend their dominions were breaking down the bulwarks of their empire in the south.

Portuguese driven out of Hoogly.—While Shah Jahan was occupied with matters in the Deccan, affairs in Bengal also claimed his attention. During Jahangir's reign, the Portuguese had been allowed to establish a factory at Hoogly. Here they had fortified themselves, and

had established a flourishing trade. Meanwhile the King of Arakan, who lived in dread of Moghul invasion, had enlisted in his service a large number of Portuguese refugees from Goa, Cochin, Malacca, and other eastern settlements, and had allowed them to occupy the seaport town of Chittagong. From this base they were accustomed to make marauding expeditions in light galleys among the islands at the mouths of the Ganges, chiefly for the purpose of carrying off the inhabitants as slaves. The Portuguese at Hoogly encouraged them in these nefarious expeditions by buying large numbers of their captives. To such a



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pitch had these wretches carried their acts of rapine and piracy that whole tracts of flourishing country had been depopulated by them. Shah Jahan, who was no friend to Christians, and who had a grudge against the Portuguese for refusing to assist him, when as Prince Kurram he was in revolt against his father, determined to punish the Portuguese at Hoogly for the part they had played in this traffic with his subjects. Accordingly in the year 1631, an expedition was sent

against them, and they were driven out of Hoogly with great slaughter. Large numbers of them were taken captive, and, in their turn, sold as slaves.

Kandahar lost to the empire.—During Jahangir's reign the King of Persia had invaded Kandahar and wrested it from the Moghul Empire, but his treatment of the conquered province had been so harsh and unjust that he not only incurred the hatred of the inhabitants, but by his exactions had driven even the Persian Governor, Ali Mardan Khan, to despair. In the year 1637 Ali Mardan, finding his position intolerable, invited Shah Jahan to take possession of the country. The offer was gratefully accepted, and Ali Mardan henceforth became a trusted servant of the Moghul Emperor. But ten years later the Persians recaptured Kandahar, and Aurungzeb, the Emperor's third son, who was sent to recover it from

them, was utterly defeated, and with difficulty escaped with the remnant of his shattered forces. From this time forward Kandahar was finally lost to the Moghul Emperor.

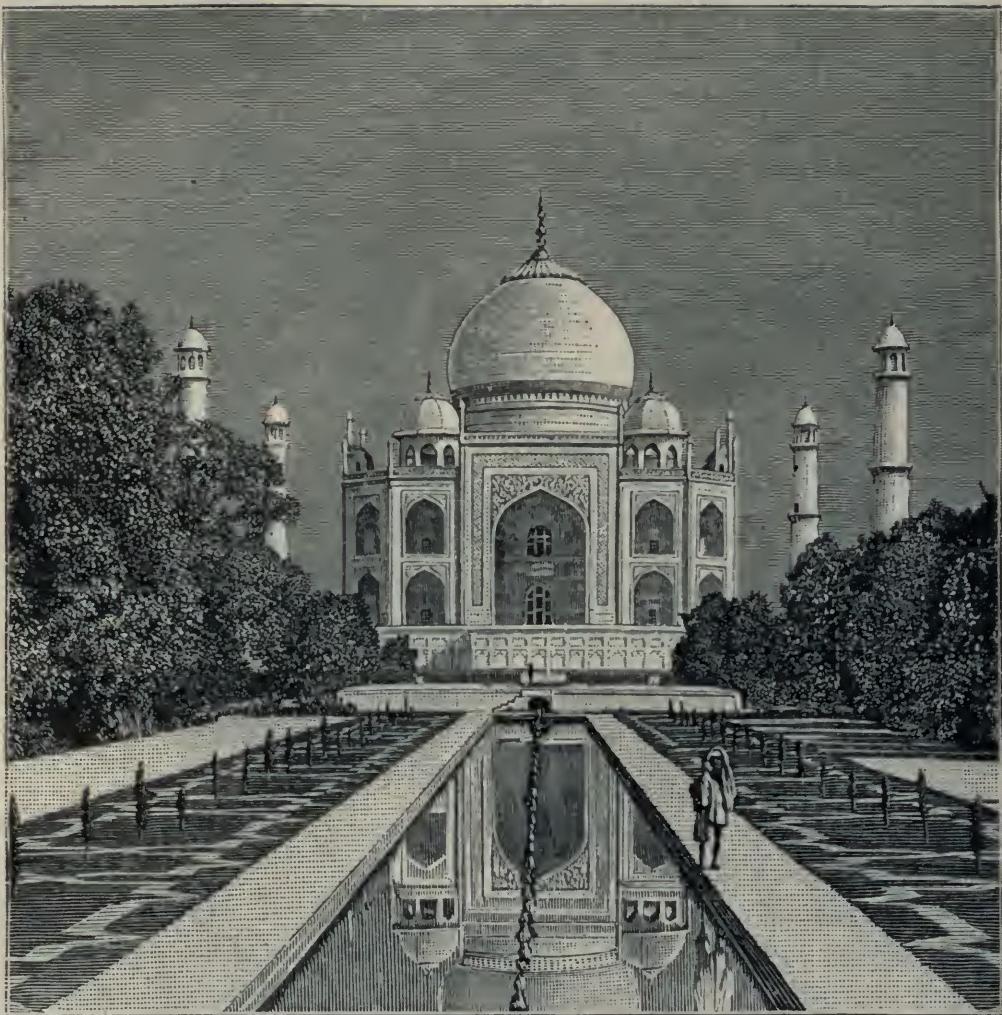
Shah Jahan's Magnificence.—Under Shah Jahan the Moghul Empire may be said to have reached the zenith of its power and glory. Not only did the old provinces yield a greater income, owing to the long period of internal peace and the wider application of Akbar's reforms, but by the settlement carried out in the Moghul Provinces of the Deccan under Shah Jahan's able and upright minister, Saadullah Khan, and by the contributions levied from the tributary Muhammedan kingdoms in the south, the sources of revenue were greatly increased. Shah Jahan had thus the means at his disposal of indulging to his heart's content his artistic tastes. His famous Peacock Throne, constructed in imitation of that which had adorned the palace of the Kings of Vijayanagar, was estimated to be worth six crores of rupees. It was of solid gold, studded with a mass of costly jewels of all kinds, and was a miracle of exquisite workmanship. The splendid specimens of Moghul architecture erected during his reign bear witness to his magnificence. Delhi was enriched with two stately and splendid buildings, the Dewani Khas and the Juma Musjid; and at Agra, where he generally resided, he erected the Taj Mahal, the most beautiful mausoleum in the world, over the body of his wife Mumtaz Mahal. It is built entirely of white marble, and decorated with mosaics formed of various precious



MUMTAZ MAHAL, WIFE OF SHAH JAHAN.

stones. In perfection of finish, down to the minutest detail, there is no building that can surpass it.

Shah Jahan's unruly sons.—The old age of Shah Jahan was saddened by the unruly conduct of his four sons, Dara, Shuja, Aurungzeb, and Murad. Each was



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animated with the sole desire of securing for himself the succession to the throne, and consequently regarded the others with suspicion and hatred. Shah Jahan, in order as far as possible to put a stop to their quarrels and intrigues, appointed them governors of four distant provinces. Dara was appointed to Kabul and Multan, but did not actually leave the court, Shuja was sent to Bengal, Aurungzeb to

the Deccan, and Murad to Gujerat. This plan, though it may have averted an immediate calamity, gave them the means of furthering their designs. Under the pretence of preserving order, they began to make every preparation for a fratricidal war in anticipation of their father's death.

Dara, the eldest, was a brave and generous prince, liberal-minded, and fond of learning, but he was of a quick temper, haughty, and disdainful of advice, and by the looseness of his religious views had incurred the dislike of the orthodox Muhammedans about his father's court. It was said of him that Christian missionaries and Brahman pundits found in him a more appreciative and sympathetic listener than the doctors of his own religion. Shuja was a skilful general, and a man of ability and address; but excesses had undermined his constitution, and he was gradually losing nerve and vigour. Aurungzeb was "reserved and subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." Unlike his elder brothers he was a strict Muhammedan, even to the point of bigotry. Though cruel, austere, and distrustful, even of his most intimate friends, his great abilities and his religious enthusiasm gained for him many adherents among the Muhammedan nobles whom Dara had estranged by his arrogance, and Shuja had disgusted by his shameless self-indulgence. Murad, the youngest, was an open-hearted, brave and reckless soldier, fond of sport and wine, but, while no less ambitious than his brothers, was inferior to them in ability.

Mir Jumla.—While Aurungzeb was acting as Viceroy of the Deccan, he received a letter from Mir Jumla, the vizier of the King of Golconda, suggesting a plan by which he might at one swoop seize both king and capital. Mir Jumla, who was a Persian by birth, was one of the ablest as well as one of the wealthiest men in Hindustan; and Golconda owed much of its prosperity to his skilful conduct of its affairs. Under his leadership its troops had lately invaded the Carnatic, and by the plunder of its ancient temples acquired immense wealth in gold and jewels. On that occasion he had appropriated to his own use a large portion of the profits of

the expedition, and had thereby incurred the anger of the king, already jealous of his increasing power and influence. Believing that his ruin was determined upon, he had addressed his treacherous letter to Aurungzeb.

Aurungzeb's expedition against Golconda.—The latter, for all his professions of piety, was not averse from making use of so despicable a means of increasing his power. In accordance with Mir Jumla's advice he suddenly marched into the Golconda state at the head of five thousand horse, giving out that he was an ambassador from the Emperor of Delhi. The king, anxious to receive so distinguished an embassy with due honour, came out from his capital to meet him, and would have fallen into his hands had he not received warning of the fate awaiting him, in time to make his escape back to Golconda. There he was besieged by Aurungzeb, who would no doubt have captured the place had not Shah Jahan peremptorily ordered him to return to his province. The king, however, was made to agree to the most humiliating terms as the price of Aurungzeb's relinquishing the siege. On his way back from this expedition, in company with Mir Jumla, Aurungzeb laid siege to and captured the powerful fort of Bidar. But perhaps the most important result of this expedition was that Aurungzeb and Mir Jumla, both men of unlimited ambition and remarkable abilities, were from this time bound together in a close friendship and unity of interests.

Struggle among the Princes for the throne.—Shortly after this event, in 1657, Shah Jahan was taken seriously ill, and it was rumoured abroad that he was dead. His four sons at once began to put their ambitious projects into execution. Shuja marched from Bengal upon Agra, and, announcing that he was coming to avenge the death of his father, who he declared had been poisoned by Dara, proclaimed himself Emperor. Murad in Gujerat likewise assumed the royal title, and, to replenish his treasury, plundered Surat. Dara, who was acting as Regent for his sick father, at once despatched a powerful army under his son, Sulaiman Shikoh, and Raja Jay Singh of Jaipur against Shuja. A battle between them took place near Benares, and Shuja was defeated and driven back to

Bengal. Aurengzeb, too crafty to make an attempt upon his father's throne single-handed, offered his services to Murad, protesting that he had no designs himself upon the crown, but only wished to co-operate with him against their common enemy, the infidel Dara.

Alliance of Murad and Aurungzeb.—Murad welcomed his alliance without suspicion, and having joined forces the two proceeded northwards together. An army sent against them by Dara was defeated, and then Dara himself, at the head of the Imperial troops, marched out against them. The two contending armies met at Sanganagh, afterwards known as Fatehgarh, the city of victory. In the fight which ensued all three brothers displayed the most determined valour. But there was treachery on Dara's side, and he was deserted in the battle by part of his army led by a Muhammedan general whom he had once too deeply offended ever to be forgiven. In the end he was forced to give way and fly for his life. The victory was complete. Aurungzeb hastened to salute Murad as Emperor, and the two together marched upon the capital.

Shah Jahan made prisoner.—Meanwhile they had received convincing proofs that Shah Jahan was not dead, but was actually recovering from his illness. They, therefore, on their arrival hypocritically sent to assure their aged father of their respect and affection, but began at once to plot how they might get possession of his person. The Emperor attempted to temporise with them, and thus gave them time to mature a scheme for his capture. One night, by the help of Sultan Mahmud, Aurungzeb's eldest son, who was in attendance on the Emperor, they contrived to take the guard unawares, seize the gates and make the old man a captive in his own palace.

With this event, which occurred in June, 1658, Shah Jahan's reign came to an end; for though he lived for another eight years he never again recovered his liberty. His reign had been a time of peace and prosperity. Though an orthodox Muhammedan, he had continued the enlightened policy of his grandfather, making no invidious distinctions between Hindus and Muhammedans. His rule, on the whole, had been mild and just, and his subjects had come to regard him with respect and affection, forgetting, in

their pity for his sorrowful old age, the unfilial conduct of his youth and his cruel treatment of his rivals for the throne.

Murad made prisoner.—Having thus disposed of their father, Aurungzeb and Murad, leaving Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurungzeb, in charge of Agra, started in pursuit of Dara, who had fled to the Punjab. Aurungzeb continued to treat his younger brother with extravagant deference, that he might not excite his suspicions, but all the while he was seeking for a means of quietly getting rid of him ; for he not only had no further need of him in carrying out his own designs, but found him the one obstacle left in his path to the throne. Having first by bribes and promises tampered successfully with the loyalty of the soldiers, he one night invited Murad to supper, and, knowing his weakness for wine, tempted him to drink to excess. The unsuspecting Murad fell into the trap, and the next morning when he awoke from his drunken sleep found himself a prisoner in his brother's hands. Aurungzeb, throwing aside all his simulated respect, now openly denounced him as a drunkard, unfit to rule, and sent him in chains to the fortress of Salimgarh.

Aurungzeb, 1658-1707.—Murad thus being put out of the way, Aurungzeb proclaimed himself Emperor. Then resuming the pursuit of Dara, he pressed him so closely that he forced him to fly to Sind. But hearing that Shuja had again collected a formidable army, and was marching on the capital, he abandoned the chase of Dara and returned to give battle to Shuja. The brothers met at a place called Khajua, near Fatehpur. For a long time the issue was undecided ; but an act of treachery on the part of one of Shuja's generals, similar to that practised upon Dara at Fatehgarh, eventually gave the victory to Aurungzeb. Shuja was forced to fly, and Aurungzeb returned to the capital, leaving his son, Sultan Mahmud, and Mir Jumla, to hunt him down. A quarrel, however, arose between them ; and Sultan Mahmud, who was already suspected of disloyalty to his father, openly went over to the enemy. But Shuja, fearing a plot, put no trust in him, and he was forced at last in despair to return to Mir Jumla. Aurungzeb, on hearing of the incident, ordered

him off as a state prisoner to the fortress of Gwalior, to which Murad had already been transferred ; and there he remained till his death. The wretched Shuja, pursued by Mir Jumla, was driven further and further east till at length he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of the King of Arakan. Here, after being plundered of the little treasure he still had with him, he was insulted and then attacked, and, being forced to fly for his life, perished in an attempt to escape to the mountains.

Aurungzeb disposes of his rivals.—Dara's fate was equally tragic. He made one more attempt to retrieve his fortunes, got together a considerable force, and met Aurungzeb at Ajmir, but was defeated and again forced to fly. After wandering through Western India with an ever-decreasing retinue, exposed to attacks from bands of robbers, and suffering great hardships and privations, he sought at length the protection of a petty Afghan chief whom he had once befriended. But it was only to be robbed by his treacherous host of what little treasure he possessed, and then betrayed by him into the hands of Aurungzeb. From him he had no mercy to expect ; for there had always been the bitterest enmity between the two, and, moreover, Dara had openly declared his intention of putting Aurungzeb to death if he caught him. Dressed in mean and filthy attire he was paraded on a worn-out elephant through the city of Agra, then cast into prison, and there beheaded on a charge of apostasy. His son, the valiant and chivalrous Sulaiman Shikoh, was likewise soon betrayed into the Emperor's hands ; but the treatment which Dara had received had so horrified and exasperated the people of Agra that Aurungzeb found it impolitic to repeat it in the case of the son. He was, therefore, sent as a state prisoner to the fortress of Gwalior, and there, with his younger brother, who had preceded him thither, quietly put away by poison. Murad did not long survive them. He was shortly after executed on a trumped-up charge of murder, brought against him by the son of a man whom he had put to death in the days when he was Governor of Gujerat.

Reasons for Aurungzeb's success.—It may seem remarkable that Aurungzeb, in spite of his unnatural treatment of his father and the murder of his brothers and

nephews, should have been able to secure the support of powerful noblemen and generals in carrying out his usurpation of the throne. It will be as well, therefore, to explain how this came about. In Akbar's reign, as we have seen, there was an influential party at court which viewed, with deep resentment, the Emperor's laxity in matters of religion.



AURUNGZEB.

During the two succeeding reigns this party, though kept in check by the wise tolerance of the Emperor, steadily gained in power and influence. Its members, professing a rigid observance of the tenets of the faith, were uncompromising in their views and austere in their private lives. To them a free-thinker like Dara, a debauchee like Shuja, and a wine-drinker like Murad appeared unfit for the succession to the throne. On the other hand Aurungzeb's Puritanical manner of life, his religious zeal, and even

his bigotry strongly appealed to them, and marked him out in their eyes as an ideal Muhammedan ruler. And as, with consummate cunning, he was always able, even when his conduct was most unnatural, to make it seem that he was guided by his notions of religious duty, they never wavered in their adherence to him, even if they suspected him of any but disinterested motives. Many, too, undoubtedly joined his party, being corrupted by his gold and promises. But when once it became evident that he must win in the struggle for the crown, the whole body of nobles, whatever were their private feelings, went over to his side. Nor are they to be severely blamed for this, for under the Moghul rulers of India the whole land was looked upon as the property of the king. The nobles of the court held their

grants directly from the reigning sovereign, and were liable to have them increased, diminished, or even confiscated according to his will or pleasure. For their own sakes, therefore, Shah Jahan's nobles found it necessary to acquiesce in Aurungzeb's usurpation.

Aurungzeb as Emperor.—In May, 1665, Aurungzeb, feeling now that his position was secure, had himself crowned Emperor, under the title of Alamgir, or Conqueror of the World. It might have been expected that such a crafty and remorseless prince would have made a wicked king. But it was not so; for Aurungzeb, having attained the summit of his ambitions, soon gave proof that he entertained the loftiest ideals of kingly duty. Not even Akbar laboured more unceasingly in the administration of the Empire, nor showed a keener desire to see that justice was done in every part of it. His religion, which had seemed to many to be assumed as a cloak for his ambition, was found to be deep and sincere.

Affairs in the Deccan.—We must now return to affairs in the Deccan. Whilst the Moghul princes were fighting among themselves for the possession of the throne, events of the highest importance were occurring there.

Sivaji.—When Shahji entered the service of the King of Bijapur he placed his ancestral home at Poona under the charge of a Mahratta Brahman named Dadoji Kondadeo, and also entrusted him with the guardianship of his little son Sivaji. The boy was brought up as an orthodox Hindu; and the duty of protecting his religion from the insults heaped upon it by the Muhammedans was strongly impressed upon him from his childhood. Before he grew to manhood he began to exhibit such a spirit of adventure, and so great a skill in organising predatory expeditions, that his fame soon attracted to him bands of daring Mahratta robbers. His success was so remarkable that before long he felt himself strong enough to enter on a career of conquest at the expense of his Muhammedan neighbours, already weakened by dissensions among themselves and by the attacks of the Moghuls.

Conquers the Konkan.—His first important achievement, when he was yet only 19 years of age, was the capture, in 1646, of the hill fort of Torna, belonging to the King of

Bijapur. From the plunder taken on this occasion he found means to build Raigarh, a fort which became thenceforward the centre and the stronghold of his rocky dominions. The capture of Torna was quickly followed by the capture of other forts belonging to Bijapur ; and at length emboldened by success he went so far as to plunder a convoy of treasure on its way to the capital. The King of Bijapur, enraged more by this act of brigandage than by the capture of his border forts, retaliated by seizing his father Shahji and flinging him into prison, in the hope of bringing the rebellious son to terms. But Sivaji was equal to the occasion, and threw himself upon the protection of Shah Jahan. The King of Bijapur, threatened with so powerful a combination against his state, was forced to release Shahji and to come to terms. Sivaji thereafter continued to plunder the territory of Bijapur almost with impunity, and with each new conquest growing more confident, began at length to ravage Moghul territory as well. By the year 1689 he had by a series of campaigns conquered the whole of the Konkan with the exceptions of Goa, belonging to the Portuguese, and Bombay, where there was an English settlement.

Murder of Afzal Khan.—The King of Bijapur, at last thoroughly alarmed at his growing power, determined to make a genuine effort to crush him. A large army was sent under the command of Afzal Khan, a Pathan general, to hunt him down in his mountain fastnesses. Sivaji, who was as crafty and treacherous as he was daring and skilful, pretending to be cowed by the sight of so large a force, lured Afzal Khan to a private interview at a spot close to Raigarh to arrange the terms of his submission. When Afzal Khan arrived Sivaji met him with becoming deference, but while in the act of embracing him, stabbed him to death with a deadly weapon called *Baghnakh* (tiger's claws), which he had concealed in the palm of his hand. He and his followers then rushed out upon the Bijapur troops, who, deprived of their leader and taken unawares, were panic-stricken, routed them with heavy slaughter and chased them back to the plains.

Sivaji plunders the Moghul Deccan.—This exploit of Sivaji's brought him to the notice of Aurungzeb,

then, as viceroy of the Deccan, maturing schemes for the conquest of Bijapur. He saw in Sivaji and his brigands a means of weakening the power of Bijapur, and he therefore encouraged him in his aggressions upon that state, little dreaming that the Mahratta robber was destined to be the founder of a power which should even in his own day shake the Moghul throne to its foundations. Sivaji shortly after made peace with Bijapur, and then when Aurungzeb left the Deccan to join his brother Murad against Dara, began systematically to plunder Moghul territory. So troublesome did he become that Aurungzeb, as soon as he had defeated his brothers, and established himself firmly on the throne, sent Shaista Khan and Jaswant Singh, Maharajah of Jodhpur to the Deccan with instructions to extirpate Sivaji and his band of robbers.

Shaista Khan sent against him.—In 1661 Shaista Khan, having made all his preparations, marched into the Konkan with a large and well-equipped force. One after another the Mahratta forts went down before him, and even Shahji's house at Poona fell into his hands. Believing that he had completely crushed his foe, he made his enemy's ancestral home his headquarters. In fancied security he omitted to take proper precautions to guard against a surprise. But one night Sivaji with a chosen band, all cunningly disguised, entered the city as guests on their way to a wedding party and managed to gain admittance to the house in which Shaista Khan was lodging. Before help could be summoned they had fallen upon the inmates with their swords and despatched the greater number. Shaista Khan himself escaped with a slight wound, but his son was among the slain. In the confusion which ensued Sivaji and his comrades made off unscathed to a mountain fort. Shaista Khan was soon after recalled to court.

Sivaji plunders Surat.—Sivaji's next adventure was even more daring. In 1664, pretending to be a Rajah on his way to the court of the Moghul Emperor, he succeeded in reaching the neighbourhood of Surat without arousing suspicion. Then at the head of a band of 3000 Mahrattas he made a sudden dash upon the city, which fell into his hands almost without a struggle. For three days the wretched inhabitants were cruelly tortured to make them

disburse their wealth. The English under their valiant President, Sir George Oxenden, alone held out against him, and made so stout a resistance that they saved not only their own but their neighbour's property. Sivaji and his followers, after burning what they could not take away with them, returned unmolested to Raigarh, laden with an immense booty. The attack on Surat was peculiarly exasperating to the Muhammedans, for the city was the port of embarkation for pilgrims on the way to Mecca. Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, who had been associated with Shaista Khan in the command of the Moghul forces in the Deccan, was suspected of having connived at both Sivaji's latest exploits, and was recalled to court; but he prudently retired instead to his own territory.

Sivaji submits to Aurungzeb.—Sivaji now assumed the title of Rajah, and began to coin money. About this time too he collected a fleet that he might combine the profession of pirate with that of brigand. Sailing along the coast he laid waste the seaboard far and wide, and by the sack of Barsilor, the chief port of Bijapur, obtained immense plunder. Then in open derision of the Moghul power, which he had bearded with such impunity when he sacked Surat, he began to prey upon the pilgrim ships leaving that port for Mecca. This was too much, and Aurungzeb, thoroughly aroused, sent another expedition against him under the command of Rajah Jay Singh of Jeypur and Diler Khan. Sivaji now found himself face to face with a force he could neither conquer nor evade, and after a brief struggle was compelled to submit. The terms of peace were that he was to surrender twenty of his forts, and unite with the Moghuls against Bijapur, the desire of conquering which Aurungzeb had never relinquished. In return he was acknowledged as a Rajah, and permitted to take the *chauth* or fourth part of the revenues of certain districts, and his son was made a commander of 5000 horse in the Moghul army.

Mir Jumla's expedition to Assam.—Meanwhile in Bengal, Mir Jumla, who after the defeat and death of Shuja had been appointed Subahdar or governor of that province, was despatched on an expedition against the King of Assam. It was suspected that Aurungzeb, who

trusted no man, was anxious that Mir Jumla should be employed at as great a distance from the capital as possible. He knew by experience how ambitious and unscrupulous Mir Jumla was, and he feared that being at the head of a powerful and victorious army, he might be tempted to set up an independent kingdom in Bengal, or even to aspire to the Imperial throne, should a favourable opportunity present itself. The expedition was at first successful ; the capital of the kingdom of Assam was occupied and sacked, and the country ravaged far and wide by the troops. But the rainy season setting in with its customary violence in those parts, soon made it difficult for the vast and unwieldy Moghul army to continue the campaign and complete the subjugation of the country. Then a terrible outbreak of cholera occurred which swept away thousands of the invaders, and made it necessary for the decimated army to retire. The Assamese at once began to take heart and to assume the offensive, and by their guerilla tactics so harassed the retreat that only the consummate generalship of Mir Jumla saved the expedition from ending in disaster. The army reached Bengal in 1663 with an enormous quantity of plunder ; but Mir Jumla was so broken in health by fatigue and exposure that he died from the effects almost immediately. Aurungzeb was undoubtedly relieved at the news of his death. "You mourn," he said to Mir Jumla's son, "a loving father, and I the most powerful and most dangerous of my friends."

Suppression of piracy in Bengal.—Shaista Khan, who had fared so ill in the Deccan, was appointed to succeed Mir Jumla, and was ordered to undertake, as soon as possible, an expedition against the King of Arakan, to punish him for his insolent treatment of Prince Shuja. For though Shuja was a fugitive and in disgrace when he sought the king's protection, yet, argued Aurungzeb, as a Moghul prince he should have been respected. Moreover, the pirates of Chittagong, whom the King of Arakan continued to protect and encourage, had grown more daring of late, and their ravages more far-reaching. Shaista Khan determined to deal with them first. But being unable to meet them on the sea for want of ships, he made use of deceit to get them into his hands. By threats and promises

he succeeded in inducing them to desert the King of Arakan, and then, when he had decoyed them away, treated them with the contempt they deserved. Having disarmed them and deprived them of their galleys, he settled them in a place a few miles south of Daccá and left them to live, as best they could, by honest means. Being quite unfitted to pursue any peaceful calling, they soon sank into a state of abject misery, and tasted to the full themselves the bitterness of poverty and despair. Having thus isolated the King of Arakan, Shaista Khan, proceeded in 1666 to invade his country, and quickly conquered and annexed it. This event, though seemingly insignificant, was in truth of the highest importance; for, by the suppression of piracy in the Bay of Bengal, Shaista Khan made it possible for English traders to gain a firm foothold in Bengal.

Aurungzeb's devotion to duty.—In January, 1666, Shah Jahan died, and with his death Aurungzeb was freed from the last cause of anxiety. Fortune had so far smiled upon the usurper's every undertaking, and there was now no one left who could make his position insecure. The Moghul empire was still at the zenith of its glory, and its revenues were greater than they had ever been before. The Emperor, with his high sense of kingly duty, seemed pre-eminently fitted to govern so vast and so splendid an empire. Being a man of simple habits and austere religious views, he began at once to introduce a rigid system of economy in place of the profligate expenditure which had marked the latter portion of his father's reign. By way of setting an example, he ordained for his own household the most frugal mode of living, and it is said, employed his little leisure in embroidering caps to defray its expenses. Taxes which pressed hardly on the poor, and licenses which brought into the treasury profit from idolatry and vice, were abolished, and every effort was made to govern the empire according to the strictest tenets of Islam. The Emperor's watchfulness to prevent corruption and injustice in any part of his dominions was unceasing. In short, by his devotion to duty he did his best to atone for the crimes which he had committed to secure the throne. Yet, as if in punishment for his former wickedness, from this time forward every project failed

him, and the empire, in spite of his unremitting care, began steadily to decline.

His short-sightedness.—It must be admitted, however, that most of the disasters which subsequently overtook the empire were due to the emperor's short-sightedness and bigotry as much as to his evil fortune. A notable instance of his want of foresight occurred in the very month in which his father died. Sivaji, after his submission, had so distinguished himself as an ally of the Moghuls in the invasion of Bijapur that he was invited to court as a special mark of Imperial favour. But on his arrival, instead of the honourable reception which the terms of his invitation had led him to expect, he was treated with marked coldness by Aurungzeb, and found himself virtually a prisoner at court. By a clever stratagem he managed to effect his escape, and in the disguise of a religious mendicant made his way on foot to the Deccan, vowing vengeance against the faithless Emperor. Aurungzeb thus made an implacable enemy of the one man above all others in Southern India whose friendship it was his interest to preserve. Nor was his treatment of the Muhammedan kingdoms of the Deccan that of a wise and far-seeing statesman. By seizing every opportunity to weaken them, by making war upon them himself, and by encouraging Sivaji in his acts of aggression upon them, he was merely paving the way for the enterprising Mahrattas to establish a powerful and militant Hindu confederacy in Southern India, and at the same time breaking down the barriers which protected the confines of his empire from their desolating invasions.

Sivaji openly defies the Moghuls.—Sivaji, on his return to his kingdom, lost no time in putting his threats into execution, and began at once to ravage Moghul territory. Aurungzeb, who was still at war with Bijapur, now found himself confronted with the Mahrattas as well. He felt that if he was to accomplish the subjugation of the Muhammedan kingdoms of the Deccan, upon which he had set his heart, he must hide his resentment and buy off the hostility of the Mahrattas. Accordingly, in 1667 Jaswant Singh, who had been taken back into favour, was commissioned to open negotiations with Sivaji. By the terms

of the treaty agreed upon Sivaji's independence was recognised, and the territories taken from him by the Moghuls restored. He thus became more powerful than ever, and in the following year forced the kings of Golconda and Bijapur to pay him tribute. For the next two years he was busy in consolidating his kingdom, and then war between him and the Moghuls broke out afresh. The Moghul Deccan was ravaged far and wide by his troops, the hill forts were stormed and many of them captured, and Surat was once again plundered. Aurungzeb, suspecting treachery among his generals, made frequent changes; but the Mahrattas, so far from being subdued, actually profited thereby, and began in 1670 for the first time to levy *chauth* from portions of the Moghul Deccan. In 1674 Sivaji was enthroned with great pomp and ceremony at his capital Raighar and openly proclaimed himself the 'champion of the Hindu gods against Aurungzeb.'

Aurungzeb persecutes Hindus.—Meanwhile trouble was brewing in Northern India. Aurungzeb's predecessors on the Moghul throne had had the wisdom to leave their Hindu subjects in the enjoyment of their ancient customs and religion. But, upon the death of Shah Jahan, the bigoted and uncompromising Sunnis of the court became all-powerful; and, under their instigation, the Emperor began to harass his Hindu subjects. Benares, as the centre of Hinduism, was the first place to feel the weight of his displeasure. The pundits were ordered to discontinue the teaching of the Vedas and, to show his contempt for idolatrous practices, the Emperor ordered certain of its famous temples to be destroyed, and out of their materials erected a stately mosque to dominate the city. Muttra and other holy Hindu cities were similarly desecrated, and general orders were issued to provincial governors to destroy temples, remove idols, and close Hindu schools. The campaign of persecution thus begun stirred up a wave of fanaticism which spread far and wide. Even the cities of the faithful Rajputs did not escape desecration.

Hindu estrangement.—This insensate policy led, as a matter of course, to widespread disaffection among the Hindus, and to many local disturbances. In 1676, a serious rebellion broke out at Narnaul, north of Delhi, among a

sect of Hindu fanatics, known as Satnamis, which was not put down for a whole year. But, instead of acting as a warning to the Emperor, the revolt roused all his latent bigotry and perverseness of character. By way of retaliation for what he deemed Hindu insolence, he dismissed from the revenue service all his Hindu officers, and filled their places with inexperienced Muhammedans. As a natural result the revenue system fell into confusion, and he soon found himself without sufficient funds to carry on his expensive and disastrous campaigns in the Deccan. He thereupon, as an expedient for replenishing the treasury, revived in 1677 the hated *Jiziya*, or poll tax, on non-Muhammedans. The estrangement between him and his Hindu subjects was now complete, and he did not scruple to use force to coerce them. When crowds of Hindus thronged about his palace to protest against the obnoxious measure, he ordered them to be charged by the state elephants, and many were trampled upon and killed. He would not even exempt the loyal Rajputs from the tax.

Rajput revolt.—About this time Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, died, while on active service in Afghanistan. As his widow and children were on their way back to Jodhpur, they passed close to Delhi. The Emperor, who had only too good reason to fear trouble in Rajputana, attempted to seize them as hostages for the good behaviour of the Rajputs. By the devoted courage of her retainers, the Rani and her children succeeded in eluding their pursuers and escaped to their home. This act of treachery, coupled with the imposition of the *Jiziya*, roused nearly the whole of Rajputana to revolt, and the Emperor was forced to relax his efforts in the Deccan in order to deal with so formidable a rebellion. His three sons—Muazzim from the Deccan, Azam from Bengal, and Akbar, who was at court—were each sent in command of armies into Rajputana from different points, with orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword, sack the towns and villages, and desecrate the temples. His instructions were faithfully carried out, and Rajputana was given up to the horrors of an invasion equalling those perpetrated by the early Pathan conquerors.

Rebellion suppressed.—In the midst of this ruthless campaign of repression, Prince Akbar, his third son, suddenly

went over to the enemy, and was soon at the head of an army of 60,000 exasperated and desperate Rajputs. Aurungzeb however was as usual equal to the occasion. He wrote a seemingly friendly letter to his son, which he contrived should fall into the hands of his Rajput allies, congratulating him upon the skilful way in which, while luring them on to destruction, he had feigned to be their deliverer. The Rajputs were completely deceived by this cunning device, and were furious with Akbar for his supposed treachery. With difficulty he escaped out of their hands and fled southward to the Deccan. Muazzim and Azam after this speedily reduced the rebels to sullen submission. But henceforth this proud and haughty race instead of being a bulwark of the empire was an ever-present source of weakness and anxiety.

Aurungzeb goes to the Deccan.—Meanwhile in the Deccan affairs had not been prospering with Aurungzeb. Bijapur and Golconda, though greatly weakened, were still holding out, and though Sivaji had died in 1680, the Mahratta power which he had organised was growing more formidable than ever. Prince Akbar, after his flight from Rajputana, had for a year taken refuge with Sambaji, Sivaji's son and successor. Aurungzeb was much incensed at this ; and as soon as the war in Rajputana was brought to a conclusion, he bent all his energies to the task of subjugating the Deccan. He felt that if he was to carry out his scheme of conquest there, and punish the insolent Mahrattas, he must employ all the resources of his empire. In 1683, after spending two years in making his preparations, he marched out from Ahmadnagar to effect his purpose at the head of an army the like of which had not before been seen in India.

Fall of Bijapur and Golconda.—The Grand Army, as it was called, was in fact several armies under different commands. The part commanded by the Emperor himself commenced operations against Bijapur, but for some time effected nothing ; for the Mahrattas, by laying waste the country behind it, and thus cutting off its supplies, rendered any movements in force impossible. Meanwhile Muazzim, who had been sent against Golconda, after a successful campaign had, much to his father's annoyance, admitted

the king to terms of peace. The whole army was now directed against Bijapur; and the kingdom which had withstood the Moghuls so long was in 1686 conquered at last and added to the Empire. After the fall of Bijapur, Aurungzeb, who was equally bent upon the destruction of Golconda, refused to ratify the terms of peace concluded with the king by his son, and proceeded at once against it. Attacked by the whole of the Imperial army, and deprived of the assistance of the sister kingdom, it made but a feeble resistance, and was reduced within the year and annexed.

Capture of Sambaji.—Thus at last Aurungzeb had succeeded in carrying out his long-cherished dream of conquest, and nothing now lay between him and the insolent Mahrattas. Sambaji had neither the genius for organisation nor the military instincts of his father. While Bijapur and Golconda were falling he made no strenuous effort to save them, but stood aloof most of the time a disinterested spectator. He was, moreover, a cruel and rapacious ruler, and had by harsh treatment and exactions alienated many of his confederates; so that he had to face Aurungzeb's Grand Army single handed with forces weakened by disaffection. The Moghuls pressed him so vigorously that he was obliged to fall back, letting fort after fort fall into their hands. At length in 1689 he was surprised and captured, and the Mahratta power apparently all but destroyed. Sambaji, when brought before Aurungzeb, instead of displaying a submissive spirit, had the temerity to heap invectives upon the Emperor and his religion. For this the infuriated Emperor ordered his offending tongue to be instantly torn out, and then, after subjecting him to further cruel tortures, had his head struck off.

Aurungzeb's rebellious sons.—The war in the Deccan had lasted so long that the resources of the Empire were greatly diminished thereby; but at its conclusion Aurungzeb was the ruler of a more extensive Empire than any of his predecessors. His forces even penetrated as far south as Tanjore and the whole of Southern India was claimed as subject to him, though the claim was never more than nominal. Aurungzeb now at last looked forward to a time of peace in which to restore his disordered finances.

But his hopes were doomed to speedy disappointment. He was in his turn about to taste the bitterness occasioned by rebellious children, and to reap the fruits of his habitual suspicion and distrust. His youngest son, Akbar, was in exile and disgrace never to return ; next Muazzim, his eldest, fell under suspicion of plotting against his father, and was kept in close confinement ; and then Azam, his second son, rebelled. Meanwhile the Emperor dared not trust any of his generals with the settlement of affairs in the Deccan, and was therefore forced, though now advanced in age, to remain himself in the field in order to stamp out the last embers of resistance in Maharashtra.

Hindu revolts.—But the Mahrattas, instead of submitting after the capture of Sambaji, began on the contrary almost immediately to revive, and the Emperor had the mortification of realising that the reduction of the Muhammedan kingdoms of the south had greatly increased the difficulty of suppressing Mahratta brigandage. For in the anarchy which ensued upon the fall of Bijapur and Golconda the Mahrattas ravaged the Deccan far and wide almost without check, and grew bolder and more enterprising day by day. To the anxiety caused him by his sons and the annoyance from the Mahrattas, were added Hindu rebellions in the north. The Jats, between the Jumna and the Chambal, raised the standard of revolt, and though treated with merciless severity, could not be completely subdued ; the angry and resentful Rajputs were combining into a hostile confederacy ; and between the Sutlej and the Ravi the Sikhs, a militant religious sect, founded by a Hindu reformer named Nanak, were growing yearly more formidable in spite of rigorous repression.

Mahratta successes.—The Grand Army in the Deccan, though commanded by the Emperor in person, was steadily losing ground, and, while constantly harassed by the enterprising enemy, could never bring on a pitched battle, and inflict a serious reverse upon them. For the Moghul army was unwieldy, while the Mahrattas, mounted on wiry ponies, and carrying on their saddles all that they required, were extremely mobile. The former moved slowly and deliberately, encumbered by its transport : the latter scoured the country round in all directions, turning up where they

were least expected, cutting off convoys and ravaging and plundering the districts from which the Moghuls obtained their supplies. At length by their guerilla tactics they so wore down the Moghuls and exhausted their resources that all the country of the Deccan except that which was in the immediate vicinity of the Moghul camps passed into their hands.

General disorder.—In 1695 the Bhima, upon the banks of which the Emperor had pitched his camp, swollen by heavy rain, suddenly overflowed and swept away 12,000 of his soldiers, besides vast quantities of stores and provisions. Disaster followed disaster; and year by year, in spite of all he could do, the Mahrattas grew stronger, while his own forces grew more timid and disheartened. The finances of the empire were failing, and in his absence from the capital corruption, oppression, and every species of misgovernment were flourishing unchecked. Yet he did not despair, and, though past eighty years of age, did not relinquish the vain struggle. All the while, too, he continued to pay the closest attention to public business, and to spend hours daily over the minutest details of administration.

Death of Aurungzeb.—With all his faults, it is impossible not to admire the indomitable spirit with which the old man met his misfortunes. He had never trusted any one, least of all his children and relations, and now in his old age, unloved and unbefriended, he had to face alone an appalling accumulation of disasters. Yet he bore up against it all with calm courage, and fought and laboured on, stubbornly refusing to acknowledge defeat. At length, in 1706, after twenty-four years of continuous campaigning in the Deccan, when to continue in the field against the Mahrattas would mean the annihilation of his disorganised and dispirited troops, and perhaps his falling himself into the hands of the enemy, he retired to Ahmadnagar; and there, in the very place from which the Grand Army had started out with such high hopes so many years before, the Emperor's spirit broke at last, and, worn out in body and mind, he gradually sank and died.

His character.—The character of Aurungzeb is one of the strangest in history, and most difficult to read. That he was a sincerely religious man there can be no doubt,

blameless in his private life, and doing his public duties according to his lights conscientiously and unremittingly. He was, too, a man of culture and refinement; and, strange as it may appear, rather prone to mildness than severity. Indeed, much of the misgovernment of his reign is attributable to the too great leniency with which he treated corrupt officials. His personal courage is undeniable, and his whole life bears witness to his coolness and readiness of resource in times of danger. Such a man should have made a successful ruler of a great empire; but against these high and kingly qualities must be set off a suspiciousness, perversity and narrowness almost unexampled in history.

Aurungzeb never really trusted any man, and in return was never thoroughly trusted himself. It was this particular trait in his character, more perhaps than his obstinacy and bigotry, which alienated his subjects from him, and he was, in consequence of it, always badly served. The great Akbar—and in a lesser measure his successors—had always at their beck and call a number of powerful noblemen, both Hindu and Muhammedan, attached to them as much by respect and affection as self-interest; but the cold and suspicious Aurungzeb allowed no intimacy with him nor placed his confidence in anyone. It was his policy to play off one powerful nobleman against another, Hindu against Muhammedan, and to be ever on the watch to check the growth of power and ambition. He ruled by an elaborate system of espionage, and, while he was feared and respected, was regarded with distrust and dislike. Such a system led of necessity to misgovernment and corruption. High officers of state, realising the insecurity of their position under the jealous and suspicious eye of the Emperor, sought in the shortest time possible to enrich themselves by extortion and malpractices against the day when they should incur his displeasure; while the Emperor, being without powerful and influential friends and relatives upon whose support he could rely in time of trouble, hesitated to punish wrongdoers in high places with due severity. The people, accustomed from the days of Akbar to regard the emperor as the fountain of justice, cried to him in vain against their oppressors; and thus misrule led to widespread disaffection and murmurs against

the throne. Added to all this, he had no tolerance for those who differed from him in religious belief, whether Shias or Hindus, and would not temporise with them nor turn from the path which, as a strict Sunni Muhammedan, he believed it to be his duty to follow, however insurmountable the obstacles before him.

Revival of the Hindus.—It will be as well to pause here, and briefly survey the state of India at the time of Aurungzeb's death. We have seen the Moghul Empire steadily drifting into a state of anarchy and decay, and Hinduism, which had lain so long under the yoke of Islam, asserting itself once more in the Punjab, in Rajputana, and in Southern India. In the north the Hindus were still no more than struggling against their oppressors, but in the Deccan the bold and skilful Mahrattas had already emerged from the long contest as conquerors. Maharashtra was practically free, and the adjoining portions of the Moghul Deccan were actually tributary to Sivaji's successors.

Growing importance of English settlements.—But, besides the Mahrattas, two other powers destined to play a commanding part in the subsequent history of India were now coming into prominence. These were the English and the French. During the long reign of Aurungzeb, in spite of many lets and hindrances, the English had gradually extended their trade, till at his death they possessed many factories along the Indian coast. At Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, forts had been built and prosperous towns had grown up; and within the territorial jurisdiction of the Presidencies, as these three places were called, the English maintained civil governments, collected revenue from their lands, and dispensed justice to their native subjects.

The Company's change of Policy.—The change from quiet trading in defenceless factories to the establishment of forts and the maintenance of civil governments resulted from the force of circumstances, and not from any wish of the Company's to become a territorial ruler in India. The Directors in England long cherished the belief that the acquisition of territory and the erecting of forts was impolitic. They argued that the Portuguese had been

ruined by the expense of maintaining garrisons to guard their Indian Empire. While the Moghul Empire was strong enough to preserve order the doctrine of peaceful trade was a sound one. But when, in consequence of Aurungzeb's disastrous wars in the Deccan, the control of the central authority was weakened, the Company's settlements fell a prey to rapacious Provincial Governors, and were liable also to attacks from roving bands of Mahratta brigands. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it became evident even to the Directors that a change of policy was necessary, and at length in response to the urgent appeals of their harassed servants, they finally decided to renounce their traditional policy and to establish a dominion in India. This momentous decision was arrived at in the year 1688. Thus was the Company compelled at length in self-preservation to take its place as a territorial ruler in India.

Establishment of French settlements.—From the year 1604 the French had made four unsuccessful attempts to found trading companies in India. At last, in 1664, Colbert succeeded in establishing a French East India Company on a firm footing. Ten years later the French obtained a grant of land from the Bijapur state, and built thereon a city called Pondicherry, the New Town; and in the very year in which the English declared their intention of becoming a ruling power in India, Shaista Khan, the Mughal viceroy of Bengal, permitted the French to establish a factory at Chandernagore. Pondicherry, after passing through a period of storm and stress, by the beginning of the 18th century had already risen through the ability of Martin, its founder and governor, to a position of importance as a great emporium of trade in Southern India.

CHAPTER III.

DECLINE OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE.

Aurungzeb's will.—On the death of Aurungzeb there was the usual fratricidal war for the possession of the throne. Before his death Aurungzeb had portioned his

empire among his three surviving children, perhaps hoping thus to prevent strife among them, or realising by his own failure the impossibility of one man's governing such vast dominions. But these intentions were immediately frustrated ; for upon the news of his death the two elder sons hastened towards the capital to seize the throne, while the youngest gathered his forces in the south to dispute the succession with the conqueror.

Bahadur Shah.—Muazzim reached Agra first, but Azam was not long in making his appearance. The issue was decided in one pitched battle to the south. Azam's forces were utterly routed, and he himself was among the slain. The credit of the victory was due not so much to Muazzim as to Zulfikar Khan, one of Aurungzeb's most famous generals. Muazzim thereupon ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah, in 1707. He was a mild and kindly man, anxious only for the preservation of peace. But hardly was he seated on the throne before his other brother, Kam Baksh, refusing to acknowledge his sovereignty, declared himself independent in the Deccan. Zulfikar Khan, without awaiting orders, marched against him ; and before the Emperor could intervene the prince had been defeated in a pitched battle, mortally wounded and taken prisoner.

. **Campaign against the Sikhs.**—Bahadur Shah, as soon as peace was restored, turned his attention to the conciliation of his Hindu subjects. But Aurungzeb's policy had so deeply stirred their resentment, that they were not to be won over. The Emperor, however, had the wisdom to profit by his father's mistakes and did not attempt to coerce them. Recognising the uselessness of continuing the struggle with the Mahrattas he acknowledged the claim of their leader Sahu, the grandson of Sivaji, to levy *chauth*, even in part of the Moghul Deccan. He also made peace with the Rajputs on terms which virtually conceded their independence. The Sikhs could not be treated with similar lenity ; for under the persecutions of Aurungzeb they had developed into an irreconcilable and dangerously aggressive militant sect. They had invaded the Eastern Punjab and seized Sirhind, and were bent on wreaking vengeance upon Muhammedans generally. Under their leader Banda they had begun to

take fearful reprisals upon Muhammedans, torturing mullahs, burning mosques, and putting whole villages to the sword. Bahadur Shah, in spite of his mildness, was a man of spirit, and in 1710 marched out against them in person, defeated them with great slaughter, and drove them to take refuge in the hills. But their leader Banda escaped, and the Sikhs, like the Mahrattas, quickly recovered and again assumed the offensive.

Death of Bahadur Shah.—The Emperor was an old man when he ascended the throne, and he was now over seventy. It was a misfortune for the Empire that he had not many years to live; for though he could not have restored it, had time been granted him he could by his conciliatory and tolerant policy have saved from dissolution what was left. The campaign against the Sikhs was his last achievement, and in 1712 while at Lahore he died, worn out by exposure and fatigue.

The Peshwaship made an hereditary office.—During Bahadur Shah's brief reign events of importance were following each other in quick succession in the Deccan. Sahu, the son of Sambaji, who had been taken prisoner along with his father by Aurungzeb and brought up at the Moghul court, was restored to his kingdom by Bahadur Shah, and with the support of the Moghuls had got himself crowned at Satara in 1708. But his claim to succeed to the throne of his grandfather was disputed by his uncle and his uncle's sons; and a civil war broke out which divided the Mahrattas into two factions and greatly weakened them. Sahu, who was even more lazy and self indulgent than his father, troubled himself so little with affairs of state, that his kingdom soon fell into the utmost confusion. It began to look as if the Mahratta power would decline as rapidly as it had arisen. But in the year 1712, just when things appeared to be at their worst, he had the good fortune to select as his Peshwa, or chief minister, a Brahman of remarkable ability named Balaji Bishwanath. This man, by his energy and statesmanship, not only saved the tottering state from ruin, but reconstituted the Mahratta power on a firmer and more enduring basis. His indolent master was only too glad to leave the management of the kingdom to him, and in grateful recognition of his services granted

the office of Peshwa as an hereditary possession to his family. Soon all power passed into the hands of the powerful minister, and the king became a puppet in his hands.

Form of Mahratta Government.—It is interesting to note how the Mahratta form of government had thus accidentally been brought into conformity with the ancient Hindu ideal. There was the submissive king, descended from a noble Kshattriya family, whose ancestors had won their position by the sword ; there were the warrior chiefs of the confederacy that led the Mahratta hosts to battle ; there was the Brahman Prime Minister, with his host of Brahman accountants, transacting all affairs of state ; and there was the low caste element supplied by the Dravidians of the Konkan, who formed the bulk of the Mahratta population. Under the revenue system devised by Balaji the Mahratta leaders shared the proceeds of their exactions from the territories which they had overrun, and were thus bound together by the common bond of profit. The system of blackmail—for it was nothing else—under which the revenue was collected was so complicated that none but the Brahmans who administered it could hope to understand it. It would indeed seem to have been expressly designed as an engine of extortion, and as a means of strengthening the power of the Brahman class to which the Peshwa belonged. Its weakness was that it led inevitably to friction between the central authority and the collectors of the revenue. Thus at the time of Bahadur Shah's death, while the Moghul Empire, beset on all sides by enemies and torn by internal dissensions, was hurrying to its fall, the Mahratta power had taken a new lease of life, and was being consolidated under the form of government most likely to appeal to the religious sentiments of its Hindu subjects.

Jahandar Shah.—Upon Bahadur Shah's death, the Empire, according to now established custom, was the scene of a life and death struggle among the royal princes. At last, by the aid of the still all-powerful Zulfikar Khan, the weakest gained possession of the throne. Assuming the title of Jahandar Shah he signalled his accession in the usual way by the slaughter of all the relatives of the late Emperor upon whom he could lay his hands. But he

was as feeble as he was cruel, and was during his brief reign a mere puppet in the hands of Zulfikar Khan. Zulfikar, though a fine soldier, was a bad administrator. Corruption and oppression had never been so rife before throughout the Empire; and, in the Moghul Deccan, Daud Khan, a Pathan general, whom he had appointed viceroy, was allowed to commit all sorts of excesses. At the end of one year's misrule, two brothers, Syed Husain Ali, governor of Behar, and Syed Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, set up a rival to Jahandar in the person of Farukh Siyyar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, who had escaped the general massacre of his relatives. The brothers marched upon the capital, and Jahandar and Zulfikar marched out to meet them. A battle was fought near Agra in 1713, in which the Syeds gained a complete victory. Jahandar and Zulfikar were taken prisoners and both put to death, and Farukh Siyyar was at once placed upon the throne.

Farukh Siyyar.—The new emperor was, like his predecessor, a mere figurehead, and all real power was exercised by the Syeds during the five years of his reign. Husain Ali was appointed governor of the Deccan, and Daud Khan was ordered off to Guzerat. But Daud Khan declined to go, and prepared to resist the new viceroy. The latter therefore attacked him, and after a stubbornly contested fight Daud Khan was defeated and killed. Husain Ali found his governorship anything but a sinecure, for a war with the Mahrattas broke out almost immediately, and he had so little success against them that he was forced to conclude an ignominious treaty, by which the Moghul Deccan was acknowledged as tributary to Sahu. This was the greatest disgrace that had yet befallen the Moghul Empire.

Deputation from Calcutta.—In the year 1716 the English in Calcutta sent a deputation to the Emperor to complain of the exactions of the governor of Bengal. With the deputation was a surgeon named Hamilton. It so happened that at the time of its arrival at Delhi the Emperor was ill, and the court physicians had failed to restore him to health. The services of Hamilton were called in, and he had the good fortune to effect a speedy cure. The Emperor was so pleased with his skill that he

asked him to name his reward. The patriotic Hamilton, disregarding self interest, asked that the English in Bengal might be exempted from custom dues and granted the possession of certain villages in the neighbourhood of their settlement at Calcutta. His request was granted, and a patent issued accordingly in 1717. This seemingly trivial incident proved to be one of the most important steps in the consolidation of the British power in India.

Persecution of the Sikhs.—While the deputation was at Delhi it witnessed a terrible scene characteristic of those troubled times. A campaign against the Sikhs had just been brought to a successful conclusion. Banda, their leader, had at last been captured and sent a prisoner to Delhi along with 740 wretches saved from the general massacre for a worse fate. They who had taken such fearful reprisals upon Muhammedans, in their turn, could expect no pity. After being first exhibited in public before the exasperated people, and subjected to every sort of insult, they were put to death with cruel tortures. The Sikhs showed themselves to be as brave as they had been remorselessly cruel, and, glorying in their martyrdom, met their fate with heroic fortitude.

Mahrattas at Delhi.—About this time, 1719, the feeble Emperor made an attempt to throw off the yoke of the Syeds, which had long been irksome to him. Husain Ali, Governor of the Deccan, hearing of it, promptly made a treaty of alliance with the Mahrattas and marched upon Delhi, accompanied by a body of 10,000 Mahratta horsemen, under the command of the Peshwa himself, Balaji Bishwanath. On his way he was joined by a famous general and statesman, named Chin Kalich Khan. The allies speedily brushed aside all opposition, seized the Emperor and put him to death. This was the first interference of the Mahrattas in the affairs of Delhi, and it marks an epoch in their history. They had now seen with their own eyes the rottenness of the Moghul Empire, and the lesson was not lost upon them.

Rapid decline of the Moghul Empire.—After the assassination of Farukh Siyyar the Syeds set up a fresh puppet Emperor; but he died of consumption after reigning for three months only. Then they selected another; but

he likewise died within the year. Meanwhile the Empire was fast hastening to dissolution. The Mahrattas were granted formal permission to levy the *chauth* throughout the Moghul Deccan and also to take an additional ten per cent., and their absolute control of the Konkan was acknowledged; the Jodhpur Raja, Ajit Singh, was made the viceroy of the subahs of Ajmir and Khandesh; Jay Singh of Amber was appointed Governor of Gujerat; and Chin Kalich Khan was given charge of Malwa; but all were virtually independent. The Jats, too, had by this time established their independence in the territory now known as Bhartpur, between the Chambal and Agra. The control of the central authority was gone, and the people, without hope of redress from the oppressions of petty rulers, were sunk in apathy and despair.

Muhammad Shah.—The Syeds now selected another grandson of Bahadur Shah's, named Roshan Akhtar, and placed him on the throne in 1719, under the title of Muhammad Shah. But the end of the Syed domination was at hand. A rival party had arisen, headed by the redoubtable Chin Kalich Khan, with whom was associated a Persian adventurer named Saadat Khan. In 1720, Chin Kalich, having been ordered to hand over the governorship of Malwa and appear at court, went into open rebellion, seized Khandesh and made himself master of the Moghul Deccan. He was secretly supported by the Emperor, who saw in him a means of deliverance from the yoke of the Syeds. Husain Ali, who marched with the Emperor to the Deccan to oppose him, was assassinated on the way, and the Emperor at once turned back towards Delhi again. Abdullah, the surviving brother, made desperate attempts to retain control of the situation by setting up a new puppet as rival to the Emperor, but he was shortly after defeated in the battle of Shâhpûr, near Agra, and taken captive. Thus ended the domination of the Syeds. The revolution was complete, and Chin Kalich Khan was invited by the Emperor to come to Delhi and assume the office of Prime Minister. From henceforward he is better known by his titles of Asaf Jâh and Nizam ul Mulk.

The kingdom of Oudh founded.—Saadat Khan, for his services in the overthrow of the Syeds, was appointed

Governor of Oudh. But, taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority, he very soon converted his subah into an independent state. No attempt was subsequently made by the Delhi Emperors to recover the lost province or to assert their authority over the ruler, and for the next 130 years Oudh was ruled by Nawabs descended from Saadat Khan.

The kingdom of Hyderabad founded.—Two years later Asaf Jāh resigned the Prime Ministership and retired to the Moghul Deccan, where, choosing Hyderabad as his capital, he set up as an independent sovereign. The ten remaining years of his life were spent in establishing his authority and repelling Mahratta attacks. At his death he left to his successors (who, like himself, bore the title of Nizam) a considerable kingdom, that, through many vicissitudes, has survived to the present day.

Death of Balaji Bishwanath.—In 1720 Balaji, the first of the Peshwas, died. By organising the Mahratta Confederacy on a financial as well as a common religious basis, he had converted it from loosely cohering bands of freebooters into a united and irresistible power, which nothing but internal dissensions could destroy. He was succeeded by his son, Baji Rao, a man of great ability and insatiable ambition.

Mahrattas threaten Delhi.—About the time that the Nizam was founding his kingdom of Hyderabad several Mahratta leaders, destined themselves to be the founders of kingdoms, were coming into prominence. The chief of these were Ranaji Sindhia, who had at one time served as the Peshwa's slipper-bearer, Malhar Rao Holkar, a Sudra by caste, and Pilaji Gaekwar, a cowherd. With their rise to power began a campaign of aggression upon neighbouring states which did not stop till the very gates of Delhi had been reached. By 1734 the Mahrattas had completely overrun Malwa, and plundering expeditions had been sent out across the Jumna threatening the Moghul capital itself. Saadat Ali, coming to the assistance of the Emperor, succeeded in repelling the invaders, but only temporarily; for in 1736, under the Peshwa Baji Rao, the Mahrattas again advanced to the walls of Delhi and actually began to plunder its suburbs.

Mahrattas paramount in India.—The feeble Empéror sent urgent messages for assistance to the Nizam, appointed him Governor of Malwa and Guzerat, and called upon all the subject princes of the Moghul Empire to join him in expelling the Mahrattas. The Nizam responded to the appeal at the head of a large army, and, marching against the Mahrattas, compelled them to retire from Delhi. He then encamped his vast army at Bhopal, while he waited for reinforcements from the Deccan. But these never arrived, and meanwhile Baji Rao had surrounded his camp with an army of 80,000 Mahratta horse. Being unable to break through the investing ring, and finding himself in a state of siege with but a few days' provisions for his army, he was forced to capitulate. He was only allowed his freedom on his agreeing to sign a convention, by which he renounced the governorship of Malwa, ceded the territory between the Narbuddah and the Chambal to the Mahrattas, and engaged to pay from the imperial treasury of Delhi fifty lakhs of rupees. Sindhia and Holkar, as a reward for their services, were appointed governors of the newly-acquired territory, the subah of Malwa being divided between them. Mahratta power thus became paramount in India, and it looked as if a Hindu empire was once again to be established over Hindustan.

Invasion of Nadir Shah.—But while the Nizam and Baji Rao were settling the terms of the Convention of Bhopal, a fresh invader from the north had made his way into India. This was Nadir Shah, who, starting life as a shepherd of Khorāsan, had by his military genius made himself at length the master of the Persian Empire. In 1736 he had had himself crowned Shah at Ispahan; but his ambition for conquest was insatiable, and, after spending the next two years in overcoming the Afghans, in 1738, on a frivolous pretext, he invaded the Punjab and advanced upon Delhi. The Nizam and Saadat Khan, combining their forces, hastened to oppose him. The contending armies met near Karnal, and as usual the dwellers in the Indian plains proved no match for hardy invaders from the north. After a brief struggle the Indians broke and fled, and the Persians continued their progress towards Delhi unopposed.

The Emperor, Muhammad Shah, seeing the uselessness of further resistance, surrendered, and Nadir and his army entered Delhi.

Sack of Delhi.—On the second day of the occupation a rumour spread among the inhabitants that Nadir Shah was dead, and they rose against the invaders. Seven hundred of the Persian soldiers, caught in the act of plunder, were killed in the streets by riotous mobs of citizens, before the report was found to be false. Nadir was furious at this act of treachery, and ordered a general massacre. For the best part of a whole day the city was given up to sack and slaughter. The Persians laid their hands upon everything of value that they could take away with them, and slew indiscriminately all who came in their way. The treasury was plundered, money and jewels were extorted from nobles and wealthy traders, and the famous Peacock Throne itself was seized, together with the crown jewels. Nadir Shah, after reinstating Muhammad Shah upon the throne, withdrew with all his spoil to Persia. It is estimated that he took with him plunder to the value of 32 millions sterling.

Collapse of the Moghul Empire.—Nothing could exceed the destitution which this invasion left behind it. The Moghul Empire was practically destroyed; for its prestige and authority were now completely gone. Muhammad Shah was left by this invasion little more than an emperor in name. The Deccan, Malwa, Guzerat, the whole of Rajputana and the Punjab ceased to acknowledge the sovereignty of Delhi; the district now called Rohilkhand, occupied by Afghan freebooters called Rohillas, was virtually independent; the Sikhs, the Rajputs, and the Jats in the north and centre were closing in on Delhi; and the Mahrattas from the south were steadily extending their dominions. From this time forward even Bengal, under its Moghul governor, Ali Vardi Khan, ceased to pay tribute to the Delhi Emperor.

Rise of independent Mahratta kingdoms.—We must now return to affairs in the Deccan. In 1739 a memorable event took place, which broke for ever the power of the Portuguese in India. This was the storming and capture of Bassein by the Mahrattas under Baji Rao's

brother. But while it ruined the prestige of the Portuguese, it greatly enhanced that of the Mahrattas, and emboldened them to further enterprise. The next year the Peshwa Baji Rao died. He had proved himself no unworthy successor to his father; indeed, by some he is ranked among Mahratta leaders next in greatness to Sivaji himself. During his Peshwaship the Mahrattas had greatly extended their possessions. But the Mahratta power had become too vast for one man to wield, and signs were not wanting, in the constant dissensions of the Mahratta chiefs and generals, that the central control was breaking down. Sindhia, Holkar in Malwa, and the Gaekwar in Guzerat were asserting their independence, and another general, Raghiji Bhonsla, was laying the foundations of a separate kingdom of his own in Berar.

Raghiji Bhonsla plunders Bengal.—Baji Rao was succeeded by his son, Balaji Baji Rao, in 1740. Like his father and his grandfather before him, he was a man of great ability; but he had not the same chances of success that they had had, for he was saddled with heavy debts contracted by his father, and from the first met with much opposition, particularly from Raghiji Bhonsla. Two years after Balaji's accession, Raghiji, without his consent, sent an expedition into Bengal, defeated Ali Vardi Khan, the Moghul governor, and obtained two and a half crores of rupees by plunder. He would no doubt have overrun the whole country and annexed it, had not the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, who was aware of the jealousy between Raghiji and the Peshwa, appealed for help to the latter on Ali Vardi Khan's behalf. Balaji Rao was only too glad of the chance of humbling Raghiji, and willingly came to Ali Vardi's assistance. Raghiji was forced to retire for a time; but though balked of his ambition to conquer Bengal he continued so systematically to harass Ali Verdi Khan that the latter was glad at length to permit him to levy the *chauth* over the whole of Bengal, Berar, and Orissa.

Poona made the capital of Maharashtra.—In 1748 Sahu died at Satara. The event made little difference to affairs in the Deccan; for he had exercised no real

authority since the days of Balaji, the first of the Peshwas. After his death the Peshwa removed to Poona, which henceforth became the capital of Maharashtra, while Satara sank into insignificance.

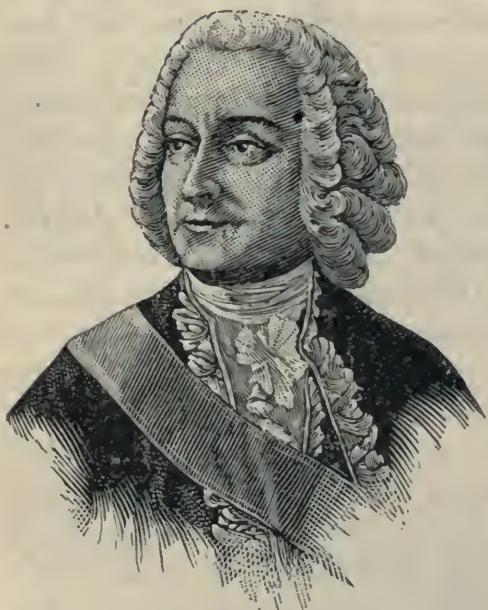
Disorder in the Carnatic.—The same year the old Nizam of Hyderabad died. South of his kingdom lay a tract of country between the river Krishna and Cape Comorin called the Carnatic. This, though not forming part of his dominion of Hyderabad, had been subject to him, and he had exercised the right of appointing its Nawab or governor. But the Nawab whose seat of government was at Arcot, was virtually an independent ruler; for the Nizam was generally too preoccupied with his own affairs to pay much attention to those of the Carnatic. A few years before the Nizam's death, however, the Mahrattas, by overrunning the country and slaying the Nawab, forced the Nizam to intervene. He soon succeeded in driving them out, and having restored order appointed one of his generals, Anwaruddin, Nawab of the Carnatic. The death of the Nizam threw both countries into confusion; disputes arose regarding the succession to the vacant throne of Hyderabad, and in the Carnatic a rival to Anwaruddin appeared in the person of Chanda Sahib, governor of Trichinopoly. What followed is so closely connected with the history of British rule in India that it will be dealt with in the next book.

BOOK III. THE BRITISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

Dupleix seizes Madras.—In the year 1742 Joseph François Dupleix, a man of remarkable ability and unbounded ambition, was appointed governor of Pondicherry and of the French possessions in India. The aim of his life was to found a French empire in India, and with this object in view, as a first step, he was bent upon driving the English, now firmly installed at Madras, out of Southern India. The outbreak of hostilities in Europe between the French and English in 1740 afforded him the occasion for which he had long been waiting. In 1746 a French squadron, under the command of La Bourdonnais, arrived in Indian waters, and was employed to attack Madras by sea, while Dupleix delivered an attack by land. After a few days' bombardment Madras was forced to surrender; but La Bourdonnais and Dupleix could not agree as to the treatment of the captured town, and the former, whose fleet had been



DUPLEX.

mand of La Bourdonnais, arrived in Indian waters, and was employed to attack Madras by sea, while Dupleix delivered an attack by land. After a few days' bombardment Madras was forced to surrender; but La Bourdonnais and Dupleix could not agree as to the treatment of the captured town, and the former, whose fleet had been

much damaged by a storm, set sail shortly after for the Mauritius.

The battle of St. Thomé.—Anwaruddin, whose capital was at Arcot, had begun to view with anxiety the growing power of the French, and was looking out for a chance of humbling them. He strongly resented their seizure of Madras, and peremptorily ordered Dupleix to surrender the town to him. Since Dupleix was delaying to do so, he attacked him ; but to the surprise of all, the French, though far outnumbered, easily drove away the Nawab's vast army. This action, which took place on 4th November, 1746, is known as the battle of St. Thomé. Hitherto the European traders had confined themselves to the defensive ; but this victory, by disclosing the weakness of oriental armies, taught them to despise them however large, and emboldened them to assume the offensive. It was the turning point in their history in India, and they began from this time forward boldly to interfere in the affairs of the neighbouring states.

Madras restored to the English.—After the fall of Madras some of the English managed to escape to Fort St. David, an English settlement a few miles south of Pondicherry, and there defended themselves so vigorously that the French were obliged to abandon the siege. Among this heroic handful was a young civilian named Robert Clive, who greatly distinguished himself by his courage and resource. The war between the French and English dragged on with varying success till 1748, the year of the Nizam's death, when news was received that peace had been made between the two nations in Europe. Hostilities therefore ceased, and it was agreed that Madras should be restored to the English, and that each side should give up what advantage it had gained during the war.

Muzaffar and Chanda Saheb.—On the death of the Nizam, his nephew, Muzaffar Jung, claimed the throne by virtue of his uncle's will. But Nazir Jung, the Nizam's second son, who was supported by the army, seized the throne, and Muzaffar was forced to fly for his life. He made his way to Satara to seek the aid of the Mahrattas ; and while there he met and formed a friendship with Chanda Saheb, the Governor of Trichinopoly, who, having

fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas, had for seven years been kept a prisoner at Satara. Chanda Saheb, as has already been mentioned, had in former days been a claimant for the post of Nawab at Arcot. The French had favoured his claims, for he had always taken their part, and indeed had been of much assistance to them in their schemes of aggrandisement in the Carnatic. During all the years of his captivity his wife and children had been living at Pondicherry under Dupleix's protection.

Dupleix's scheme.—Since the Mahrattas would not take up the cause of Muzaffar, Chanda Saheb persuaded his friend to lay his cause before the French. This was accordingly done, and Dupleix, who saw thereby a prospect of making French influence paramount in the Deccan, promised to help him, and Chanda Saheb too, at the same time. Dupleix, who had a truly Oriental genius for intrigue, formed the following daring and brilliant scheme for making use of both. Chanda Saheb was to be ransomed from the Mahrattas, and then the French, Muzaffar, and Chanda Saheb were to fall on Anwaruddin. If they succeeded in overthrowing him, Chanda Saheb should be made Nawab of Arcot in his place, and should then assist the other two to place Muzaffar on the throne of Hyderabad. After this the three were to unite in expelling the English from the Carnatic. Muzaffar and Chanda readily fell in with this proposal.

Battle of Ambur.—Chanda was thereupon ransomed by the French, and set to work immediately to collect as large an army as he could. As soon as their preparations were complete, the three allies joined forces, and, falling upon Anwaruddin at Ambur in 1750, gained a most decisive victory over him. The old Nawab and his son were among the slain, and all his baggage and artillery were captured. The French were commanded on this occasion by the famous General Bussy, to whose military skill the successful issue was mainly due. Chanda Saheb was now proclaimed Nawab of Arcot, and Muzaffar assumed the title of Subadar of the Deccan. So far the plan had been entirely successful. But, instead of following up their advantage, the allies, chiefly through the folly of Chanda Saheb, wasted precious time in plundering expeditions.

Natural Scale. 1:8,000,000.

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Walker & Cockerell sc.

SOUTHERN INDIA to illustrate the wars with the French.

Failure of Dupleix's scheme.—Nazir Jung, finding himself threatened by so powerful a coalition, called in the Mahrattas and English to assist him. Both readily agreed to help him, for they perceived that the overthrow of the Nizam would imperil their own safety. A vast army was quickly brought into the field, composed of Mahrattas, the Nizam's troops, and a few hundred English. The French and their allies, being completely taken by surprise, were obliged to fall back, but were overtaken near Pondicherry and completely routed. Chanda Saheb fled southward, but Muzaffar fell into the hands of Nazir Jung. Chanda Saheb was at once proclaimed a usurper, and the Nizam appointed Muhammad Ali, a younger son of Anwaruddin, Nawab of Arcot in his place.

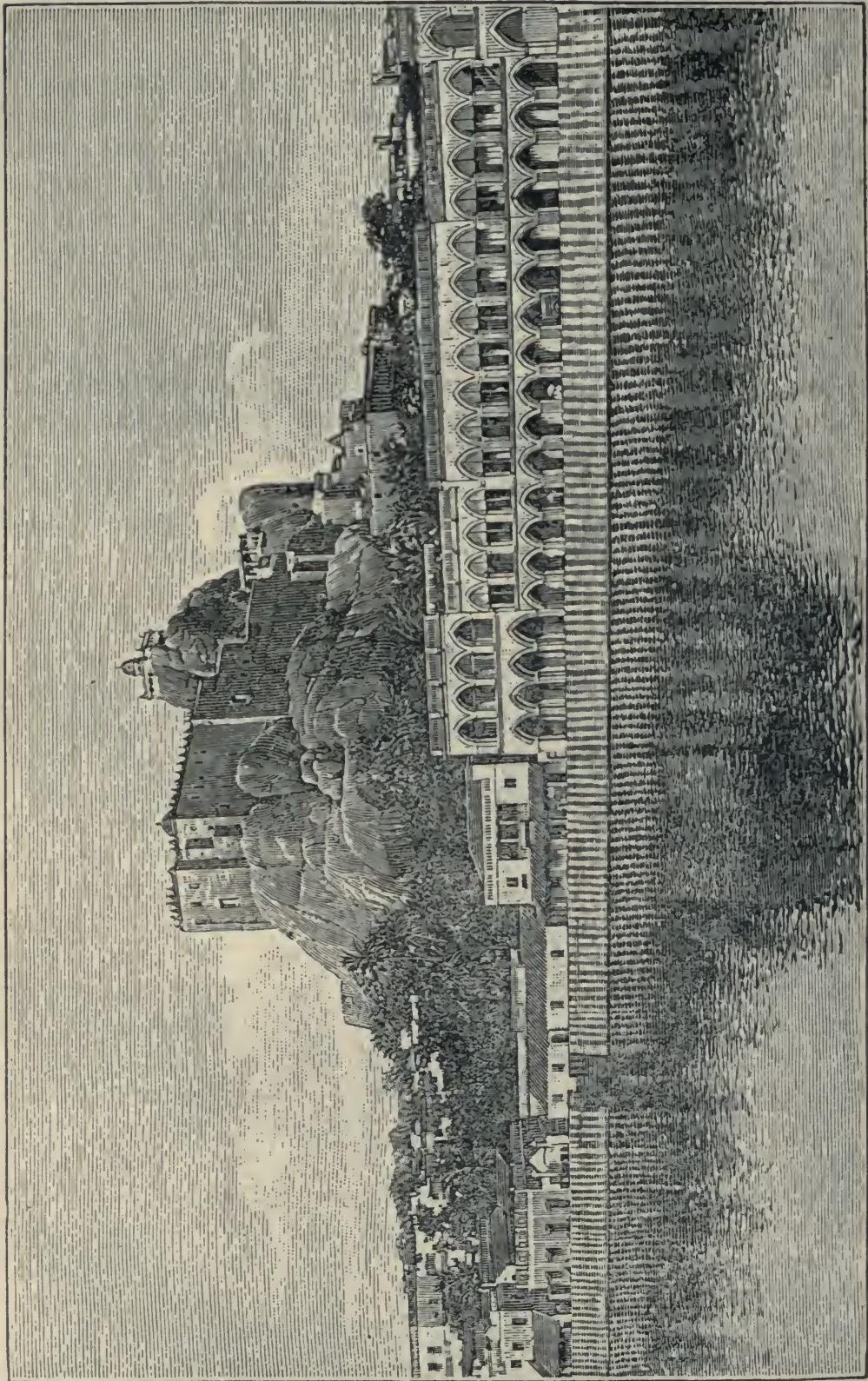
French influence again supreme.—Dupleix's scheme had therefore failed completely, but he was not the man to give way to despair in consequence. He retired to Pondicherry and waited upon events. It was not long before Muhammad Ali, who was weak and obstinate fell out with his English allies, and was deserted by them. This was just the opportunity Dupleix was waiting for, and he at once despatched the ablest French officer in India, Bussy, against him. Bussy utterly defeated him at Punar, and then followed up his victory by the storming and capture in a few hours of his stronghold of Ginji, hitherto considered by the natives impregnable. This last brilliant achievement greatly raised the prestige of French arms. The Nizam, Nazir Jung, though greatly frightened at the turn of events, marched an army into the Carnatic; but, before he could make up his mind whether to come to terms with the victorious French or to oppose them, he was assassinated by a band of conspirators working in the interests of the imprisoned Muzaffar Jung. The latter was at once released and placed upon the throne. Shortly afterwards Chanda Saheb, who had taken refuge at Pondicherry, was restored to the position of Nawab of Arcot. With Muzaffar Jung Nizam of Hyderabad and Chanda Saheb Nawab of Arcot, Dupleix's dreams of empire seemed likely to be realised. So elated was he with his good fortune that he set up a pillar near the place of Nazir Jung's assassination, and gave orders for the building of a town

there, to be called Dupleix-Fatah-abad, the town of Dupleix's victory.

The French at Hyderabad.—French influence was now supreme in the Carnatic, and to ensure that it should also be supreme at Hyderabad, General Bussy was sent with a body of French troops to reside at the Nizam's court, under the pretence of protecting him. Muzaffar did not long enjoy his high position, for he was assassinated within six months by the very conspirators who had raised him to the throne. Bussy, however, lost no time in finding a successor who should be as subservient to the French as Muzaffar. Salabat Jung, a younger son of the old Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been kept a prisoner by Muzaffar, was released and placed upon the vacant throne.

Critical situation of the English.—Such was the position of affairs in 1751. The whole of the Deccan had passed under French influence, while the English, at the mercy of their rivals, and with their prestige destroyed, were clinging insecurely to their settlements at Madras and Fort St. David. Their ruin seemed imminent, and it apparently only remained for Dupleix to attack them in order to drive them out of southern India altogether.

Siege of Trichinopoly.—Muhammad Ali, who had been so severely handled by Bussy, had retired after his defeat to Trichinopoly ; but Chanda Saheb, feeling that the presence there of the deposed Nawab was a menace to himself, laid siege to the town. Muhammad appealed in desperation to his former friends, the English. Their own position was hardly less critical than his, but they resolved as a last expedient for retrieving their fortunes to make an effort to save him. The Governor of Madras, Mr. Saunders, was a man of courage and firmness, and he had at his right hand the brilliant young soldier, Robert Clive. Desperate efforts were made to relieve Trichinopoly ; but in spite of all that the English could do the place seemed certain to fall ; for Dupleix, who had quickly perceived the importance of its reduction, had come to Chanda Saheb's assistance with all the resources at his disposal. At this juncture Clive suggested to Saunders the daring plan of attacking Arcot, as a means of creating a diversion and forcing Chanda Saheb



THE ROCK AND TEPPA TANK FROM THE OLD GATEWAY, TRICHINOPOLY.

to relinquish the siege of Trichinopoly. It seemed a forlorn hope, but in the desperate state of the English fortunes it appeared worth trying, and Saunders gave his consent to the enterprise.

Clive occupies Arcot.—In 1751, with a force composed of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, and with a few light guns, Clive set out on this perilous enterprise. Fortune favoured the expedition, for, when the little force reached Arcot, it found the place weakly defended. The garrison, completely taken by surprise, fled without offering any resistance. Thus Clive was able to enter the Nawab's capital without striking a blow. He proceeded while he had yet time, to put it into a state of defence, and, having done all that was possible, awaited with a stout heart the arrival of the forces which he knew Chanda Saheb would send in all haste from the south to recapture the city.



LORD CLIVE.

Successful defence of Arcot.—On receipt of the news of the occupation of his capital Chanda Saheb sent his son with a force of 10,000 men from Trichinopoly to recover it. Thus Clive, by carrying the war into the enemy's country, succeeded, as he had hoped, in drawing off a large body of the enemy from before the beleaguered town, and lightened considerably the labours of the defenders. But he was soon in sore straits; for his gallant little band, besides having to withstand day and night, behind crumbling defences, the attacks of an overwhelming host, had to endure in a few weeks the privations of hunger. Yet he never thought of surrender, and continued to turn a deaf ear to the threats and promises of the baffled besiegers. At last, after seven weeks of the most heroic defence, help came. Morari Rao, a Mahratta chief, struck with admiration at the courage and endurance of the garrison, came to their

assistance with 6000 men ; Saunders from Madras also sent what help he could. The son of the Nawab made one more desperate attempt to carry the place by assault, was repulsed with heavy loss, and then withdrew, leaving Clive in undisputed possession of the capital.

Relief of Trichinopoly.—The effect of this splendid feat of arms was magical. It infused fresh courage into the defenders of Trichinopoly and disheartened the besiegers. With as little delay as possible Clive marched his victorious army southward to the relief of the town. On the way he encountered a French force sent out to intercept him, and utterly routed it. Further on he was joined by Lawrence, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in the first war with the French, with a small but well-equipped force from Madras. Advancing together without meeting opposition they arrived in front of Trichinopoly and proceeded to surround the besiegers. Chanda Saheb and the French, cut off completely, now found the tables turned upon them. They were forced to relinquish the siege and retire to Srirangam, a small island close to the fort of Trichinopoly ; and being closely invested were compelled to surrender unconditionally on 13th of June, 1752. Two days before the surrender Chanda Saheb was murdered.

Decline of French influence.—The relief of Trichinopoly, and the capture of the besieging force together with its guns and stores was a heavy blow to the French. Their position was now hardly less hopeless than that of the English the year before. But Dupleix did not cease to struggle. Bussy, who might have helped him, was at the court of the Nizam, and took no part at this time in the affairs of the Carnatic. He did, however, manage to arrange that the Nizam should nominate Dupleix Nawab of the Carnatic in place of Chanda Saheb ; but this did not help much, for all real power was exercised by Muhammad Ali, who had been restored to power. Clive meanwhile continued his victorious career, and the prestige of the French declined as that of the English rose.

Fall of Dupleix.—At last, in 1754, the French government, which had for some time been losing confidence in Dupleix, was prevailed upon to recall him. Thus ended the career of the restless and ambitious Dupleix. Had he

been properly supported he might perhaps have realised his dream of founding a French empire in India. Instead, he was hampered continuously in all his schemes by the niggardly and short-sighted policy of the home government, and the selfishness, jealousy, and unpatriotic conduct of his countrymen in India. He returned to France a ruined man, and was left by his ungrateful country to die in abject poverty.

Arrival of Lally.—After his recall peace was made between the English and the French; the title of Muhammad Ali was recognised by the French, and the schemes of Dupleix were definitely abandoned. But hostilities breaking out again between the English and the French in Europe, the war in India was soon resumed. In 1758 Count Lally arrived from France to take command of the French forces in India. Clive was at the time absent in Bengal. Lally, in spite of the half-hearted support he received from jealous brother officers, was at first successful. He captured Fort St. David, and then, being joined by Bussy, he laid siege to Madras. But he was so badly served that from the first he had no chance of capturing the town; and when an English fleet arrived in the harbour he relinquished the attempt, and retired on Pondicherry. Next year reinforcements from England arrived under General Sir Eyre Coote.

Final overthrow of the French.—Now began the last stage in the struggle between the two nations. The French attacked Wandewash, and Sir Eyre Coote hurried to its assistance. On January 22nd, 1760, a decisive battle was fought there, in which the French were completely routed and Bussy taken prisoner. This crushing defeat was fatal to the French cause, and the final issue of the war could no longer be doubted. Sir Eyre Coote in quick succession took one after another all the forts in the Carnatic belonging to the French. Finally, in 1761, he captured Pondicherry and took Lally himself prisoner. This was the end of French ambitions in India, and in a few years the French East India Company was dissolved. Pondicherry was subsequently restored to them along with their other possessions which had also been seized; but their power was completely broken and their prestige ruined. The English were left by the war in undisputed possession of the field, and the virtual control of affairs in Southern India passed finally into their hands.

Afghans in the Punjab.—While the struggle between the French and the English was going on in Southern India, the Moghul Empire was continuing its downward course. Nadir Shah had been assassinated in 1747, and the succession to the Afghan portion of his dominions had passed to an Afghan chief, Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ahmad Shah was anxious to repeat his predecessor's triumphs in India. His first attempt in 1748 signally failed, and he was driven out of the Punjab after suffering heavy losses. A few years later he returned while a struggle was occurring for the possession of the Delhi throne, and though he met with little success at first, he managed to gain a foothold in the Punjab, and before the end of the year had obtained the cession of Lahore and Multan. The Afghans now directly threatened Delhi, but they were not yet prepared to attack it.

Continued decline of the Moghul Empire.—During the next few years the process of decline continued, and one after another Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the remaining portion of the Punjab, following the example of the other provinces, threw off the yoke of Delhi. Puppet emperors followed each other in quick succession, and reigned only so long as they were of use to the party which supported them. One man however managed to maintain his influence at court through it all. This was the cruel and unscrupulous Ghazi-uddin, a descendant of the first Nizam of Hyderabad. Under his maladministration the empire fell into a state of anarchy such as even it had never known before, and the wretched people cried out in vain against every form of oppression and injustice. The Sikhs, however, profited by the general state of disorder and gained many converts during this period; for with their military organisation, which was being steadily developed, they were able to afford some measure of protection to their adherents.

Ahmad Shah sacks Delhi.—The Afghans had meanwhile been steadily increasing their hold upon the Punjab and growing more formidable. The administration of the conquered territory was about as bad as it could be, and they were exceedingly cruel in their treatment of the subject people; but they were so strong that resistance would have been hopeless. In 1756 the Afghan governor died, and the whole Punjab was thrown into confusion.

Ghazi-uddin, taking no account of Ahmad Shah Abdali, decided that the time had arrived for recovering the province for the Delhi Empire. Marching an army into the Punjab, he took possession of the government and appointed his own nominee governor. Ahmad Shah was furious when he heard what had happened, and at once descended upon India. Delhi itself was the objective this time ; and after overcoming a futile attempt at resistance, he entered the capital in September, 1756. Sack and slaughter followed as the necessary consequence, and the streets were soon filled with corpses. Ahmad Shah, bent on plunder, then sacked Muttra and massacred many defenceless Hindus, but a pestilence breaking out among his troops he thought it advisable to retire as quickly as possible to his own country.

The Mahrattas in Northern India.—After Ahmad Shah Abdali's departure, Ghazi-uddin again assumed the reins of government, and recommenced his acts of oppression and violence. At last his conduct made for him so many enemies that he began to fear for his own safety. He thereupon, with the basest treachery, called in the Mahrattas to his assistance. In response to his appeal Raghoba, the brother of the Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao, entered Delhi at the head of a large army, and the enemies of Ghazi-uddin fled. The Mahrattas were now supreme at Delhi, and Raghoba, puffed up with his success, talked of founding once more a Hindu empire. Unmindful of what dire consequences had followed the provoking of Ahmad Shah Abdali's wrath in 1756, he rashly determined to drive the Afghans out of India. Leading an expedition unexpectedly into the Punjab, he quickly achieved his object, and then, having set up a Mahratta governor of the province, he returned in triumph to Delhi. When Ahmad Shah Abdali heard what had occurred, he was beside himself with rage and swore to wreak full vengeance on the insolent Mahrattas. Re-entering India in 1759 at the head of a magnificent army, he encountered the Mahrattas under Holkar and Sindhia, and, driving them before him, retook the Punjab and advanced on Delhi.

Bold bid for empire.—By their talk of a new Hindu empire, the Mahrattas had alarmed the Musalmans of

Northern India. The Rohilla chief and the Nawab of Oudh, though they feared and hated the Afghans, yet recognised that without them there was no hope of stemming the rising tide of Hinduism, and they therefore decided to throw in their lot with them. The Mahrattas had now to face a most formidable combination ; but they could not for their credit withdraw. They perceived that a crisis was at hand which would decide whether the Musalman supremacy in Northern India was to continue, or whether the Hindus should at last throw off the hated yoke and recover their ancient liberty ; and they therefore made frantic preparations to meet it. No time was to be lost, and during the next few months reinforcements were arriving daily from the south as fast as they could be sent. Sadashéo Rao, known as the "Bhao," the Peshwa's nephew, and Viswas Rao, the Peshwa's son, Holkar, Sindhia, Gaekwar, and every Mahratta chief of note, with all the forces they could collect, were soon upon the scene.

The battle of Panipat.—The Mahratta army is said to have amounted to upwards of 270,000, including horse and foot ; the Muhammedan, to less than 90,000. The two hosts confronted one another on the field of Panipat, that ancient battleground on which the fate of Hindustan has so often been decided. From October 28th, 1760, to January 6th, 1761, neither side was willing to risk a general engagement. The delay, however, was all in favour of the Muhammedans, for the Abdali had collected abundance of provisions, while the Mahrattas had to supply themselves by plundering the country round. At last, on January 7th, Sadashéo Rao, who was in supreme command, believing that further delay would be fatal, as his army was already suffering great privations, ordered a general attack. The Mahrattas advanced with great gallantry, and at first it looked as if they would overwhelm the enemy ; but the hardy Afghans, though forced back by the sheer weight of numbers, did not break, and after a time the Mahrattas began obviously to tire and their attack to fail. Holkar at this crisis deserted, and Sindhia soon after fled. The exhausted Mahrattas were now in their turn forced back, and the retirement soon became a rout. Viswas Rao was killed, and Sadashéo, in endeavouring to rally his

men, was borne down by the enemy and never seen again. Many other noted chiefs fell, one after another, till at last the Mahratta army, deprived of its leaders, degenerated into a jumbled mass of terrified fugitives. The victorious Afghans, getting in amongst them, slaughtered them by thousands. All captives taken were, with characteristic inhumanity, beheaded the next morning.

Thus ended the last battle of Panipat, and with it vanished forever the Mahratta dreams of empire. The news of the disaster is said to have killed the Peshwa. The whole of Maharashtra was plunged into mourning, for there was scarcely a household that had not to grieve for the loss of a son or father.

Siraj-ud-Dawla.—We must now turn to affairs in Bengal during these eventful years. In 1756 Ali Vardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, who had spent so many years of his life in resisting the encroachments of the Mahrattas, died at his capital of Murshidabad. In his will he nominated as his successor his grandson, Siraj-ud-Dowla. His choice could hardly have fallen upon a worse representative of his house. The new ruler, who was now about twenty-five years of age, had been a spoilt child, and had been allowed to grow up in complete ignorance of his duties. He was, moreover, self-indulgent, tyrannical, of a violent temper, cruel and revengeful. His accession was therefore regarded with consternation by his subjects.

Quarrels with the English.—Ali Vardi Khan, though making frequent demands for money from the English settlers in Bengal, as the price of his protection from Mahratta raiders, had on the whole treated them fairly and justly. But Siraj-ud-Dowla, being devoid of any sense of honour, no sooner came into his title than he began to scheme how he might plunder them of the vast wealth which he believed them to possess. He therefore took the earliest opportunity to quarrel with them, and, because they would not comply with a dishonourable demand, plundered their factory at Kassimbazar, and marched with a large army upon Calcutta.

Captures Calcutta.—The fort at Calcutta during the days of Ali Vardi Khan had been allowed to fall into disrepair, and was in fact quite indefensible. The garrison

contained about sixty ill-trained European soldiers, and a small body of militia, drawn from the company's servants and the Portuguese and Armenians employed about the place. The bombardment commenced on the 18th June, and by night time most of the defences had been demolished. Seeing the hopelessness of the position, the Governor and as many as could get away in the few available boats, lying in the Hoogly under the fort, made their escape to a station called Fulta, further down the river. One hundred and forty-six persons were left behind, amongst whom was Holwell, a junior member of the council at Calcutta. Further resistance was out of the question, and the next morning they were obliged to capitulate. The Nawab's troops at once marched in, took possession of the place, and made prisoners of all whom they found there. Holwell, who was sent for by the Nawab, received an assurance that no harm should happen to them ; and to the Nawab's credit it must be said that the tragedy which followed was not due to his orders.

The Black Hole of Calcutta.—When darkness came on the whole 146 wretched prisoners were driven by their guards, with threats of instant death if they did not comply, into a small dungeon, memorable for all time as the Black Hole of Calcutta. It was a military prison cell, not more than 18 feet square, and had only two small apertures for light and air high above the ground. What followed is soon told. It was the hottest season of the year, and as the buildings round about had been fired by the plundering soldiery of the Nawab, the heat was insufferable. The agonies endured by those wretched captives squeezed together in that tiny, ill-ventilated chamber, crying to their inhuman guards in vain for release, are indescribable. When the door was opened in the morning only twenty-three, among whom was Holwell, were found to have survived that awful night.

Recovery of the English settlements by Clive.—The news of the tragedy was received in Madras with a thrill of horror, followed by a burning desire for vengeance on the perpetrators of this horrid crime. At the time there was fortunately a respite from the war with the French in the Carnatic. Clive, who was then Governor of

Fort St. David, was naturally chosen as the leader of the avenging army that was quickly got together. With him went a squadron of the Royal Navy under the command of Admiral Watson. The force which reached Calcutta in December, seemed absurdly small for the task it had before it. In all, it consisted of only 900 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys ; but its ranks were filled with veterans who had followed Clive in his victorious career, and had unbounded confidence in his generalship. Immediately on its arrival the little army stormed and captured Budge-budge, one of the Company's settlements which had been occupied by the enemy. On this occasion Warren Hastings, destined to share with Clive the credit of establishing the British Empire in India, fought in the ranks as a volunteer. Calcutta and Hoogly were recovered soon after without much difficulty, and the Nawab's troops, beaten and dispirited, were everywhere driven back. Siraj-ud-Dowla, thoroughly alarmed, opened negotiations, and on his promising full compensation for the damage done and to respect the privileges granted to English traders, peace was concluded.

Chandernagore captured.—Shortly after, war between France and England once more broke out in Europe. Clive and Watson, following the example which Dupleix had set in Southern India during the former war, declared war on the French in Bengal, and in spite of the Nawab's threats and remonstrances laid siege to their settlement of Chandernagore and captured it.

Plot against the Nawab.—The Nawab was the more annoyed because he was at the time intriguing with the French to turn the English out of Bengal. While pretending to conciliate the English, he was actually writing letters to the veteran Bussy, then at Cuttack, imploring his assistance against them. He was half crazy with fear, hatred, and disappointment, and like the spoilt child that he was, had not the sense to refrain from venting his spite and ill-humour on those about him. Such behaviour disgusted both Hindus and Muhammadans, and a plot was soon formed by certain of his wealthy nobles to dethrone him. Chief of these was Mir Jafar the commander of the Nawab's forces. The conspirators opened secret negotiations with Clive through Omichand, a wealthy merchant

of Calcutta, and promised that if the English would help them to dethrone the Nawab, in return for their assistance they should be granted certain valuable privileges which it was known they were anxious to obtain.

War declared.—Clive readily fell in with the scheme, but the plans so carefully laid were nearly wrecked, for Omichand subsequently threatened to disclose the whole plot to the Nawab unless he were given a large sum of money to maintain silence. The manner in which Omichand was tricked into keeping the secret and afterwards disappointed of the promised reward was extremely ingenious, but cannot be regarded otherwise than as a blot upon the memory of Clive, who consented to employ the device. Secrecy being assured, Clive, in order to force the Nawab to disclose his intentions towards the English, demanded immediate satisfaction of all outstanding claims, threatening hostilities if he did not comply. Siraj-ud-Dowla, perceiving that further concealment of his designs was impossible, at once put in motion the large army he had been getting ready to attack the English. With 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, a large train of artillery, and a small body of French gunners, he took up his position on the field of Plassey close to Murshidabad, and awaited the attack of the English. To oppose this vast army Clive had with him no more than 900 Europeans, 2100 Sepoys, and ten guns.

The battle of Plassey.—The situation was extremely critical, and Clive called a council of war to consider it. Of the 21 officers assembled only seven voted for attacking the Nawab, but among this minority were Clive and Coote. However since from the situation of the two armies to withdraw was well-nigh impossible, Clive determined to use his own judgment and attack. He accordingly ordered a general assault on June 17th, 1757. The French gunners, who were immediately in front of the English, opened fire, and with such effect that within half an hour the English were forced to retire for shelter. Had the Nawab's troops thereupon advanced they could easily have overwhelmed the small and dispirited force opposed to them; but they contented themselves with discharging their artillery at long range. It was the rainy season of the year, and in the midst of the cannonade a heavy shower occurred which lasted

for an hour. The Nawab's gunners kept pounding away through it till their powder, which they had omitted to protect, was rendered damp and useless. Meanwhile the English had carefully covered their ammunition, and had not attempted to reply during the rain to the enemy's fire. The Nawab, believing that the English guns had been silenced like his own by the rain, and that his enemy was now at his mercy, ordered his numerous cavalry to charge into their midst. This was the turning point of the battle; for the English, reserving their fire till the cavalry was almost upon them, suddenly discharged their guns with such terrific effect that those who were not knocked over fled wildly back upon the main army.

Mir Jafar and the conspirators, who had been watching the fight in some trepidation, and were waiting for the turn of events before deciding whether to fulfil their treacherous part or not, now hastened to the Nawab, and in feigned anxiety for his safety, begged him to fly while there was yet time for escape. The Nawab, believing his life in danger, without stopping to enquire, listened to the advice of these false friends, and fled in terror precipitately from the field. The news of his flight caused a panic in his army, and Clive, observing the signs of confusion, advanced once more to the attack. The gallant little band of Frenchmen alone made any resistance, and by five in the afternoon the Nawab's troops were in full flight, leaving everything behind them.

Result of the battle.—This victory, which decided the fate of Bengal, and is reckoned the starting-point of the British Empire in India, cost the English a loss of only 22 killed and 50 wounded. Mir Jafar, despite his vacillation, was made Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in place of the deposed Siraj-ud Dowla. The latter, who was soon after seized, was put to death by Mir Jafar's son. The new Nawab did his best to recompense the English for their losses due to the sack of Calcutta, and indeed was nearly ruined in his attempts to meet their extortionate demands. Almost his first act on his accession was to grant to the Company the zemindari, or landlord's rights, over a tract of country round Calcutta of some 880 square miles in extent.

Clive's first governorship, 1757-1760.—For the signal service which he had performed Clive was made governor of

the Company's settlements in Bengal : but as Mir Jafar was little more than a puppet in his hands, he might almost be said to have become the ruler of the whole province.

Forde drives the French out of the Northern Circars.—Clive was not long allowed to enjoy his governorship in peace. The French were still in possession of the territory along the coast between Madras and Orissa known as the Northern Circars, and were found to be carrying on intrigues with the Nizam as well as with other native chiefs, whereby the security of the English in Bengal was threatened. Clive felt that there could be no lasting peace so long as they were allowed to occupy this strip of territory. He therefore despatched in 1758 a force under Colonel Forde to drive them out of the Northern Circars. The campaign was a brilliant one, and was entirely successful. The French were everywhere defeated, and finally Masulipatam, where they had strongly fortified themselves, was stormed and captured.

The Shahzada invades Bengal.—The same year the Shahzada, the eldest son of the Moghul Emperor, escaped from Delhi, where his father was a virtual prisoner in the hands of Ghazi-uddin, assumed the Imperial title, and advancing on Bengal laid claim to it as part of his empire. He was supported by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, and the two together invested Patna, and overran the province of Behar. Mir Jafar was terror-stricken, and began to waver in his allegiance to the English ; but he was soon reassured, for Clive himself marched promptly at the head of a force to the relief of Patna, dispersed the Moghuls, and forced the Shahzada to evacuate Behar.

Defeat of the Dutch.—Mir Jafar was by this time thoroughly tired of his powerful English friends, whom he saw gradually usurping all real authority, so he entered into an intrigue with the Dutch settlers at Chinsurah for a combined attack upon them. Though the Dutch had small hold upon the Indian peninsula, he knew that they had many valuable possessions in the East Indies, notably Batavia in Java, and that they were a power on the high seas with which even the English did not wish to come in conflict. In an evil hour for themselves the Dutch, though Holland was at peace with England, listened to his pro-

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posals and wrote to Batavia for reinforcements. Clive, however, gained intelligence of the intrigue before help could arrive, and at once attacked them by land and sea, utterly defeated them, took Chinsurah and forced them to agree to humiliating terms of peace.

State of India in 1760.—Having thus secured Bengal on all sides against attack, Clive resigned his governorship and set sail for England in 1760. The comparatively few years which he had spent in India had witnessed the most momentous changes. The Moghul Empire had sunk to insignificance ; the Mahrattas, by rashly provoking the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali, had suffered a crushing defeat which had well-nigh destroyed their power ; the final blow to French hopes of supremacy had been struck by Eyre Coote at Wandewash ; and the English, by the victory of Plassey, had laid the foundations of their Indian Empire.

Misgovernment at Calcutta. — The outlook on Clive's departure was full of promise for his countrymen, and they seemed at last to have emerged safely from the long period of stress and struggle into a time of peace and prosperity. All that was needed was a firm and statesman-like policy to secure to them what they had so quickly won by the genius of Clive and the skill of Coote. But Vansittart, who succeeded Clive, was a man of a very different stamp, irresolute and short-sighted, and upon his Council there was no one fit to advise him ; for Warren Hastings, who might well have done so, was away at Murshidabad looking after the Company's interests there. The English officials, instead of devoting themselves to the Company's interests, were bent on amassing private fortunes by trading on their own account, and bribes were accepted and even extorted by men in high places.

Mir Jafar deposed.—The feeble Mir Jafar had by this time, through the exactions of the English and his own incompetence, become hopelessly involved in debt. The Calcutta Council, unjustly regarding him as the sole cause of his own misfortunes, and ignoring the part which the Company's servants had played in bringing about his ruin, resolved on his deposition in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Kasim. Mir Jafar was accordingly made to resign and sent to Calcutta, and Mir Kasim was installed in his place.

Quarrel with Mir Kasim.—This transaction was as great a mistake as it was a piece of injustice ; for in place of a puppet, the English had to deal with a man of energy and ability who was even less likely to put up with their high-handed procedure than his predecessor. A quarrel soon arose between them and the Nawab regarding exemptions from transit duties on goods carried across his dominions. The Nawab would not give way, and the dispute led to an open rupture. When war was declared the Nawab seized Mr. Ellis, the resident of Patna, together with all the English in his dominions whom he could lay hands on. The Company retaliated by proclaiming the aged and deposed Mir Jafar Nawab once more and sending a force against Mir Kasim. Monghyr, which Mir Kasim had made his capital, was, after a stubborn contest, taken from him, and the English then advanced upon Patna to the release of their countrymen.

The massacre of Patna.—This was in 1763, and the year is memorable for a tragedy even more horrible, since it was more deliberate, than that of the Black Hole. For Mir Kasim, wild with rage and disappointment, ordered the massacre of his helpless prisoners. A file of soldiers under the command, it is said, of a German in the Nawab's employ, going to the house in which the captives were confined, pointed their guns at them through the windows and shot them down in cold blood. In the massacre of Patna, as this foul deed is called, 148 persons, including Mr. Ellis himself, perished. Patna was taken, but the bloody Nawab escaped to the protection of the Nawab Vizier of Oudh.

The battle of Buxar.—The Shahzada, now the Emperor Shah Alam II., had been residing at the Nawab Vizier's Court ever since his defeat by the English in Behar ; for while the Afghans were at Delhi he could not return to his capital. He had not yet abandoned hope of recovering Bengal, so that when Mir Kasim fled to Oudh he eagerly espoused his cause and persuaded Shuja-ud-doula, the Nawab Vizier, to do the same. The two together marched with a large army into Bengal, but their advance upon Patna was checked, and they retired to Buxar. It was fortunate for the English that they did ;

for a Sepoy mutiny just then broke out in the Company's army. The situation was critical, but Major Munro, who was in command, was a man of decision. On the first sign of rebellion he ordered twenty-four of the ringleaders to be blown from guns. This promptness and severity quelled at once what might have grown to be a formidable mutiny. As soon as order was restored, Munro, in October, 1764, marched out against the enemy, who with an army of 50,000 men were still at Buxar, waiting for his attack. In the battle which ensued the allies were utterly routed, and 160 guns were taken from them. The victory was not less decisive than that of Plassey. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh, who had looked upon himself as the arbiter of Northern India, was forced to beat an ignominious retreat.

English supremacy acknowledged in Northern India.—English supremacy in Northern India was now an admitted fact, and Shah Alam II., the Moghul Emperor, came as a suppliant for terms to the English camp. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh retreated westward, and was joined by Holkar and his Mahrattas. But he could make no stand, and when Allahabad had been taken from him and his army finally scattered at Kalpi, he was forced to beg for peace on any terms that his conquerors would grant. The greater part of the United Provinces were now as much at the disposal of the English as Bengal. About the same time Mir Jafar died, greatly harassed by debt and worried by the shameless and extortionate demands of his English masters. An illegitimate son of his, who had heavily bribed the corrupt members of the Calcutta Council, was by them declared his successor.

Clive's second Governorship, 1765-1767.—At this juncture Clive, now Lord Clive, having been raised to the peerage for his services, returned to Calcutta as Governor of Bengal for the second time. The Directors of the Company in London were thoroughly alarmed, as well they might be, at the conduct of their servants, and it was in response to their urgent appeal that Clive had consented to go out to India. He had only agreed on the understanding that his powers should be increased; for he intended to take strong measures to put down the illicit trade which the Company's servants were privately carrying on, to the

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damage of the Company's interests and the corruption of its service.

The dual system in Bengal.—Immediately on his arrival he found himself called upon to settle the momentous questions which had arisen in connection with the late war. It was work which he dared not entrust to any of his Council, so he went himself to Allahabad and negotiated the terms of peace with the defeated princes. The Nawab Vizier was restored to his kingdom on his promising to pay five crores of rupees and become an ally of the English. The Emperor Shah Alam was given the tract of country comprised by Allahabad and Kora, in the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, on condition of his granting to the Company the Diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and full possession of the Northern Circars. In return for this concession, and in acknowledgment of his title, he was to receive a yearly tribute from the Company of 25 lacs of rupees; while the Nawab of Bengal, as his deputy, was to be allowed to retain the executive and judicial government, and was to receive 50 lacs a year for his maintenance from the Company. There was thus a dual system of administration in Bengal, the Company collecting and controlling the revenues and maintaining a standing army, and the Nawab administering criminal justice and maintaining the police. By this arrangement, which was concluded, August 12th, 1765, the Company was advanced from a mere trading corporation to the greatest territorial power in India.

Clive's reforms.—Clive had now leisure to carry out the reforms in the Company's administration which he had been expressly sent out to effect. His first measure was to forbid the receipt of presents by civil and military officers. The custom was one of long-standing, and was a fruitful source of corruption. His next measure was to reduce the extravagant allowances given to the army when on active service. Subsistence money, or *batta* as it was called, had been granted at so preposterously high a rate that the expenses of a campaign had on that account alone become ruinously great. Something like a mutiny occurred among the officers when they heard of the proposed curtailment of their allowances. But Clive was firm and would

not yield, though there were at the time grave fears of an incursion of the Mahrattas ; and the officers, seeing the uselessness of resistance, soon submitted. His third reform raised a veritable storm of indignation among both military and civil officers. He absolutely forbade the Company's servants to trade on their own account.

Their effect.—In justice to the Company's servants, who one and all had been in the habit of making money by this means, it should be said that their salaries were wretchedly low, and that one of the chief inducements to accept the Company's service was the unquestioned privilege of engaging privately in trade. What made it harder was that the very man who was now introducing these reforms had himself amassed an immense private fortune by such means, and was known in times past to have accepted large sums of money from native potentates. But Clive was nevertheless right, and the reforms he introduced were necessary to secure the good name of the Company and insure the integrity of its servants. To compensate them for their loss, he set about devising means for increasing the pay of the Company's servants, both civil and military ; and to his credit it may be said that he suffered himself as much as any one by his reforms, so that he left India after his second governorship a poorer man than when he had returned to it.

Clive leaves India.—After carrying out these reforms Clive finally retired from the Company's service in the year 1767. He was the real founder of the British Empire in India ; for he had not only won it by his brilliant achievements on the field of battle, but had secured it to his country by his wise and statesmanlike conduct of affairs. In the words of the famous resolution passed by the House of Commons in the year 1773, when his enemies tried in vain to obtain his impeachment for maladministration and corruption, "he rendered great and meritorious services to his country." His name is now justly inscribed among those of the greatest statesmen and generals that England has produced.

Growth of Sikh power.—Though the genius of Clive had converted the Company's possessions in India into an empire, and had made the English the arbiters of Northern

India, yet there were powerful and independent states in the peninsular which were quite equal to holding their own against the English, and which in combination would have been more than a match for them. The Sikhs in the Punjab, when that province was finally wrested from the Delhi Empire by Amad Shah Abdali, had little cause to rejoice; for the Afghans were more fanatical and cruel than the Moghuls and their administration exceedingly corrupt. But the Sikhs never ceased to struggle, and for purposes of mutual protection organised themselves into small bands, or *Misls*. The *Misls* frequently fought with one another; but they were capable of combining against a common enemy, and in 1763 attacked and captured Sirhind. They signalled their victory, according to their usual custom, by perpetrating the most horrible barbarities upon its Musulman inhabitants. Ahmad Shah more than once returned to the Punjab to punish them, but he never quite succeeded in subduing them. After his death they speedily revived, drove the Afghans out of the country and took possession of it. By the time of Clive's second governorship they had developed into a formidable power, capable of holding their own against all comers. But as yet the Company's interests did not extend so far north, and there was little or no danger of a conflict between the two.

Rise of new kingdoms.—The Mahrattas, since their defeat at Panipat, no longer exercised the same influence in the north, but they were still supreme in Central and Western India. At Poona the new Peshwa, Madho Rao, was only a boy; and his uncle, Raghunath Rao, better known as Raghaba, was acting as regent. The latter was a restless man of a rash and scheming nature, and so long as he remained in power there could be no security for peace in Southern India. The Gaekwar of Baroda, the Bhonsla ruler of Berar, Sindhia, and Holkar were now quite independent of control from Poona, and had developed into powerful monarchs. The Nizam of Hyderabad still ruled over a wealthy and extensive kingdom, and in recognition of his claim of suzerainty over the Carnatic had compelled the Madras Government in 1766 to sign a treaty acknowledging his authority, granting him a yearly tribute, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with him. While further to

the south a powerful and aggressive ruler had lately appeared in the person of Haidar Ali, Sultan of Mysore.

Haidar Ali.—This extraordinary man had started his career as a soldier in the service of the Hindu Raja of the state, had risen to be commander-in-chief of his army, and in 1761 had deposed his master and proclaimed himself Sultan of Mysore. Haidar Ali was as able and ambitious as he was cunning and unscrupulous. At the expense of his feebler neighbours he soon extended his territories in every direction, and, with the wealth which he accumulated by plunder, raised and equipped a powerful army. Although on one occasion signally defeated by the Mahrattas, whose hostility he had rashly provoked, he continued steadily to grow stronger and to enlarge the boundaries of his kingdom.

The first Mysore War, 1766-1769.—In the year 1766 he invaded Malabar and captured Calicut. This last achievement alarmed the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and made them fear for the safety of their own dominions. They therefore formed a confederacy against him and invaded his territory. The Madras Government, by reason of its recent treaty with the Nizam, was forced, much against its will, to take part in the war. Haidar was now in great straits, and, realising that he had no chance against so formidable a combination, he entered into secret negotiations with the Mahrattas, and bribed them to retire. He then made overtures to the Nizam, and, surprising as it may seem, not only succeeded in detaching him from his alliance with the English, but persuaded him to join him in an attack upon them. The Madras Government, which had been forced to take part in the war, now found itself not only deserted by its allies, but attacked by one of them in conjunction with Haidar. But Colonel Smith, who commanded its contingent, was a brilliant soldier, and, though his force was immensely outnumbered by the enemy both in guns and men, he gained two signal victories over them and captured the greater portion of their artillery. A force, which had meanwhile been despatched from Bengal to aid the Madras Government, had entered Hyderabad territory, and another sent from Bombay had invaded Mysore from the west and captured Mangalore. The treacherous Nizam thereupon dissolved his alliance with Haidar and sued for peace.

Haidar dictates terms of peace.—The Council at Madras was at this time as feeble as it was corrupt. All the malpractices which Clive had sought to put down in Bengal flourished unchecked among the Company's servants in the Carnatic. They were so intent upon money making that they seemed to have no time to think of anything else. In spite of the successful state of the war and the humiliation of the Nizam, the Madras Government treated with him as if he had been a victor, acknowledged his authority in the Carnatic, and, what was still worse, entered again into an offensive and defensive alliance with him. Disaster shortly after this befell the Bombay contingent, which, after suffering heavy loss, was forced to retreat. But Colonel Smith continued his victorious career, and drove back the enemy towards the capital, Seringapatam, capturing the principal forts as he advanced. Haidar now asked for peace on terms which the Madras Government might with credit have granted; but, as if bent upon accomplishing its own undoing, it declined, and about the same time superseded Colonel Smith, its only capable commander. Reverses followed as a natural consequence, and Haidar, assuming the offensive, quickly recovered all he had lost. Smith was once more restored to the command, and did his best to check Haidar; but it was too late, and the Sultan, with a body of 6000 cavalry, slipping round the force opposed to him made a dash for Madras. His unexpected appearance within a few miles of the town struck terror into the hearts of its inhabitants. The place was almost denuded of troops, and was in no condition to withstand a determined assault. It was now Haidar's turn to dictate terms. The Madras Government was forced to consent to a mutual restitution of conquests, and, notwithstanding its agreement with the Nizam, to enter into a defensive alliance with Haidar. Thus did the war, which, but for the folly of the Madras Government, might have ended with such credit a year before, terminate in defeat and disgrace.

Haidar defeated by the Mahrattas.—Haidar was so elated by his success that he determined to try conclusions with the Mahrattas. But in 1772 he met with such an overwhelming defeat at their hands that he was

forced to retreat precipitately to his capital, where he was soon besieged by them. In these straits he called upon the Madras Government to assist him in accordance with the treaty between them ; but this it declined to do, as it had not consented to nor taken part in his attack upon the Mahrattas. He was forced therefore to come to terms with the Mahrattas, and only got rid of them by making a payment of thirty-six lakhs of rupees, a cession of territory, and a promise of an annual tribute of fourteen lakhs. Haidar never forgave the English for what he considered their base repudiation of the treaty.

The Mahrattas supreme at Delhi.—The victory over Haidar greatly increased the prestige of the Mahrattas, besides supplying them with much-needed funds. They now felt themselves strong enough to renew their raids on Northern India, which had ceased since their disastrous defeat at Panipat. They had little to fear from the three British Presidencies. Madras was humbled by its disastrous campaign with Haidar ; Bombay was too weak and too near Poona to dare to interfere with their schemes ; and Bengal was too far away to be affected thereby. In 1769 they crossed the Chambal and invaded Rajputana. The Rajput princes were overawed and forced to pay a heavy tribute, and from the Jats a sum of sixty-five lakhs of rupees was exacted. Then, while Sindhia occupied Delhi, another army ravaged Rohilkhand. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh, alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, entered into friendly relations with them, and Shah Alam II., who had been living at Allahabad since the battle of Buxar, leaving British protection, returned to Delhi and placed himself in Sindhia's hands. Their triumph was complete, and all that was left of the dominions of the Great Moghul was virtually theirs. It suited their purpose, however, to preserve for the present the semblance of the Moghul Empire, so they formally placed Shah Alam II. on the throne of Delhi in 1771, but exacted characteristically a crore of rupees from him for the service.

Hastings made Governor of Bengal, 1772-1774.—At this juncture Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal. He had shown such conspicuous ability as Resident of Murshidabad, and later as a member of

Council at Calcutta, that the choice of the Directors naturally fell upon him. He took over charge on the 13th April, 1772; and never did a Governor succeed to a more plentiful crop of troubles. The dual government

which Clive had established seven years before had proved a complete failure, and after his departure all the old forms of corruption had crept in again. The Nawab's government was too weak to perform its share of the work, so that crime went unpunished and injustice prevailed; the English officials, neglectful of their duties, were amassing private fortunes by trade monopolies at the expense of the Company; and the Company's

WARREN HASTINGS.



native revenue collectors, while practising the most shameful extortions upon the people, defrauded the Company of its revenues. The treasury was almost empty, heavy debts had been incurred, and the whole administration was in disorder. In fact, under the dual system, with its divided responsibilities, there was not, nor could there be, any proper government. To add to the general confusion, a famine of unprecedented severity, followed by a terrible outbreak of epidemic diseases, had swept away in 1770 a third of the inhabitants of Bengal, and almost ruined the agricultural classes.

His instructions from the directors.—The Directors at home were thoroughly alarmed at last at the state of affairs, and rightly attributing much of the decrease in the Company's revenues to the malpractices of their servants in India, were determined to put a stop to misgovernment at all costs. Hastings received strict injunctions to make a minute enquiry into cases of alleged misconduct, to punish offenders severely, and to reform the revenue system. He had hardly begun his task when he received

a letter from the Directors informing him that it was their determination to take the collection of the revenue out of the hands of the native revenue collectors, and to trust to their European servants "the entire care and management of the revenues of Bengal."

Reform of the revenue system.—The reform of the revenue system therefore was the first matter which engrossed his attention. A fresh assessment of the land was set on foot, the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and European officers called collectors were appointed to supervise the collection of the land-tax, and to preside in the revenue courts of the districts into which the country was divided. Still further, to guard against irregularities Commissioners were appointed over groups of districts to supervise the work of the collectors, and courts of appeal were established in Calcutta for both civil and criminal cases. In consideration of the abolition of the dual system of government and the consequent relief of the Nawab of Bengal from the responsibility of maintaining order the Nawab's pension was cut down to one half. His next and hardest task was the improvement of the Company's trade; for the corrupt practices and irregularities which he had to put a stop to were in many cases committed by men in high places who were friends and relatives of Directors. He did not, like Clive, raise a storm of protest, for the wrongdoers had no shadow of excuse for their conduct and dared not openly protest; but he made for himself many private enemies, whose influence hereafter was used against him on every possible occasion. The result of these measures was that the Company once more received a profit from Bengal.

Shah Alam forfeits the Company's tribute.—Meanwhile the state of Upper India was giving cause for serious alarm. As soon as the Mahrattas had got the feeble Emperor Shah Alam II. into their hands they began to put pressure on him. One of their first acts was to force him to make over to them the districts of Allahabad and Kora, which Lord Clive had given him in 1765 for the support of his dignity. The occupation of this territory by the aggressive and predatory Mahrattas was a direct menace to the Company's possessions in Bengal, and to permit it would have been to acquiesce in a state of things which the

grant to Shah Alam had been intended to prevent. Warren Hastings therefore declined to acknowledge the cession to the Mahrattas, promptly occupied Allahabad, and declared a protectorate over the ceded districts. Furthermore, the yearly tribute of 25 lakhs paid by the Company to Shah Alam was regarded as forfeited, since he had voluntarily left British protection.

The King of Oudh enters into a subsidiary alliance.—It had been the object of successive Governors in Bengal to maintain and support one or more friendly powers on their northern border to serve as a barrier against invasion. The Nawab Vizier of Oudh by the turn of affairs was now alone able to play this part. To detach him from his northern neighbours became a matter of the first importance. Accordingly, in 1773 Hastings went to Benares and concluded a treaty with him, by the terms of which the Company sold to him the districts of Allahabad and Kora, and agreed, on the payment of a subsidy by him, to assist him with the Company's troops in the event of his being attacked by the Mahrattas.

The Rohilla War, 1774.—Within a few months of this agreement the Nawab Vizier of Oudh wrote to Hastings, proposing that the Company should assist him in driving out the Rohillas from Rohilkhand, and annexing their country to his own dominions. He pointed out that the Rohillas had dealt treacherously with him; that the year before, at their earnest request, and on a promise made by them of a payment to him of 40 lakhs of rupees, he had assisted them in repelling a Mahratta invasion of their country; that they had since refused performance of their promise; and that they were now actually intriguing with the Mahrattas against him. The Vizier offered to pay all expenses of the expedition, and in the event of success, to give the 40 lakhs in dispute to the English. Although the Company had never been troubled by the Rohillas in any way, Hastings did not think it safe to stand by while a formidable coalition of Mahrattas and Rohillas was formed against the ally of the British. He therefore agreed to send a brigade. No act of Hastings has been so severely condemned as this participation in the ruin of a power which had done nothing directly to incur the Company's hostility.

But in his defence it must be said that honour and political expediency alike required that he should intervene ; for the fear of the Mahrattas was very real and to abstain from interference in the coming struggle between the Nawab Vizier and their friends the Rohillas would have been to desert an ally and to play directly into their hands. The Rohillas were not deserving of the sympathy they have received, for they were merely Afghan adventurers, who had but lately imposed their harsh rule upon the Hindu population of Rohilkhand.

The Vizier having got what he wanted, lost no time in attacking the Rohillas. They fought bravely, and but for the staunchness of the Bengal brigade would have routed the Vizier's undisciplined hordes ; but they had no real chance of success, and were obliged shortly to submit. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh, and the Rohillas, to the number of some twenty thousand, were banished from the country.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF BRITISH INDIA.

The Regulating Act.—The constant wars with the "Country Powers" and the misgovernment and corruption which had marked the Company's administration since its conversion by the exploits of Clive from a mere commercial undertaking into a territorial sovereignty, had been viewed with some alarm in England, and the Government had been for some time anxiously looking for an opportunity of interfering in its affairs. The opportunity had now arrived ; for the Company which had for years been drifting further and further into debt was forced in the year 1773 to apply to Government for financial assistance. The Government, having the Company at its mercy, informed it that it would be prepared to help it pecuniarily only on conditions. These conditions were that the Government should be kept informed of all political transactions of the Company ; that the Crown should have the right to veto or cancel any rules or orders of the Company ; that a Supreme Court of Judicature, appointed by the Crown and independent of local authority, should be estab-

lished in Calcutta ; and that the Governor of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa should be raised to the position of Governor-General of the British possessions in India, should be assisted by a Council of four, and should exercise authority over the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The Company was in no position to refuse these terms, and they were accordingly embodied with others of minor importance in an Act of Parliament known as the Regulating Act.

Meddlesomeness of the new Council.—The Act did not come into force till October, 1774, when three of the members of the new Council arrived in Calcutta from England. They were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. The fourth member was a servant of the Company named Barwell, residing at Calcutta. Warren Hastings assumed the office of Governor-General from the date of their arrival ; but if he thought that his new dignity was to bring him increased power he was doomed to bitter disappointment. Under the new Act he was but the president of a committee, with a casting vote in case his Council disagreed. He was therefore liable to be outvoted and could do nothing without the consent of the majority. The three councillors from England came out with a violent prejudice against him, having been well primed in England with stories—more or less mendacious—to his discredit by his enemies, of whom in the course of his administration he had been forced to make not a few ; and they proceeded at once to make things uncomfortable for him by enquiring into matters which had occurred before their arrival, and by reversing or annulling several of his most important acts. They seemed, in fact, bent upon his ruin, and prepared to encompass it at all costs. They eagerly listened to every charge of maladministration and corruption which the malice of his enemies could invent, and in the investigation of abuses acted rather as the agents of a prosecution than as impartial enquirers. Hastings withstood them with firmness and spirit, but as he was supported by Barwell alone he was completely at their mercy.

Interference in the affairs of Oudh.—In 1775 the Vizier of Oudh died, and the factious members of the Council, in spite of the remonstrances of Hastings and Barwell, cancelled the existing treaties, insisted on his heir

paying an increased subsidy for the Company's troops stationed at Oudh, and compelled him to make over the districts of Ghazipur and Benares to the Company. Chet Singh, the local landowner, who had hitherto been a tributary of the Vizier of Oudh, was by them raised to the rank of Rajah, on consideration of his paying over to the Company the annual tribute of 22 lakhs which he had been accustomed to collect for the Nawab. This was bad enough ; but what followed was still worse. The Begums, the widows of the late Vizier, had appropriated two crores of rupees of treasure lying in the palace at the time of his death, and had laid claim to the revenues of certain rich districts in Oudh. The new Vizier, who was heavily in debt to the Bengal Government, whose treasury was empty, and whose troops were in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay, declined to acknowledge their claims ; for, in truth, to have done so meant practically ruin to him. The Begums appealed to the Council, and the intractable majority decided in their favour out of sheer perverseness. The affairs of Oudh at once fell into hopeless confusion, and the state was soon in no position to perform its part of the Treaty of 1773.

Execution of Nund Kumar.—Not satisfied with the public mischief they had wrought, Clavering, Monson, and Francis proceeded to collect privately against Hastings evidence of corruption and embezzlement ; and to such a pass did things at length come that they recorded a minute in Council in March, 1775, that there was no species of peculation from which the Governor-General had thought it reasonable to abstain. The chief of his accusers was a Bengali, named Raja Nund Kumar. He was known to have been a bitter enemy of Hastings for many years, and moreover he bore an infamous reputation ; but the three members of Council, ignoring all this, proceeded to treat him as a trustworthy witness, and eagerly listened to the monstrous charges which he brought against the Governor General. Hastings, whose ruin seemed imminent, resolutely faced his refractory Council ; and while declining to be arraigned as a criminal in the council chamber, offered to submit his conduct to the investigation of a special committee. To this the Council unreasonably declined to agree, and a deadlock

ensued. Suddenly, in the midst of the confusion, the chief accuser, Nund Kumar, was arrested on a charge of forgery brought against him by a native merchant. The enemies of Hastings asserted then and subsequently that he had instigated the prosecution, but Hastings solemnly denied on oath having done so, and no evidence has ever been found to support their allegation. It is significant that during the course of Nund Kumar's trial no such suggestion was made, and that the enemies of Hastings in the Council, though appealed to, declined to interfere on the prisoner's behalf. Nund Kumar was tried in the Supreme Court, found guilty by the jury, and sentenced, according to the then existing law, to be hanged as a forger. Even then his patrons in the Council, who might still have intervened on his behalf, refused an application to suspend the sentence, and he was accordingly hanged in spite of his age, his caste, and his rank. This dramatic incident, though it checked for a while, did not put a stop to the attacks upon Hastings' reputation. His implacable enemies in the Council still continued to assail him, and in order to destroy his influence systematically reversed all his decisions.

Dispute over the succession to the Peshwaship.— While through the action of the Council affairs in Bengal were getting into a desperate state of confusion and the kingdom of Oudh was drifting into ruin and anarchy, matters in Bombay and Madras were almost equally unsatisfactory. In the year 1772, a few months after his signal defeat of Haidar, Madho Rao, the Peshwa died, a victim to consumption. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Narayan Rao, who, being only a boy, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Raghaba. But Narayan Rao had scarcely held office for six months when he was assassinated in circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Raghaba as next-of-kin thereupon assumed the office ; but as he was unpopular, and was moreover strongly suspected of having contrived the murder of his nephew, a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Nana Furnavis, one of the greatest of Mahratta statesmen. The conspirators produced a posthumous son of Narayan Rao, and succeeded in getting his claims recognised by most of the Mahratta chiefs. Raghaba, finding himself almost deserted, appealed for help to the Bombay

Government, promising in return for it to give them the islands of Salsette and Bassien.

First Mahratta War, 1775-1782.—The Bombay Government had already taken possession of the former, and they were anxious to retain it, for fear that it might fall again into the hands of its original owners, the Portuguese. Without troubling themselves much about the merits of his case they readily agreed to help Raghaba, and in 1775 despatched a force under Colonel Keating into the Mahratta country to support his claims. The whole Mahratta country rose in arms to resist this unprovoked invasion, and Colonel Keating found himself confronted with a force which outnumbered his own by ten to one. Nevertheless, on the plains of Arras, the Mahrattas, after a desperate struggle, were defeated.

Interference of the Supreme Council.—The Bombay Government, by the terms of the Regulating Act, were not empowered to make war without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council. As soon as the Supreme Council of Calcutta heard of what was going on it denounced the war as ‘impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust,’ ordered the Bombay Government to cease hostilities, and sent a representative to make peace with the Mahrattas. Hastings, though strongly disapproving of the conduct of the Bombay Government, disagreed with his Council’s summary method of dealing with the affair. Moreover, he thought it impolitic for the Supreme Government openly to disavow the action of the Western Presidency, and he feared that the Mahrattas might misunderstand the motives of the English in thus abruptly treating for peace. The Bombay Government having meanwhile received the approval of the Court of Directors to their agreement with Raghaba, continued, in spite of the Supreme Government, to support his cause. The result showed that they were wise in not abandoning him; for it was soon after discovered that Nana Furnavis was intriguing with the French, with a view to recovering Salsette from the English with their co-operation.

Goddard’s march across India.—Hastings was not now hampered at every turn by a factious majority in his Council; for of his antagonists Monson had died in

1776 and Clavering in 1777, and Francis in a minority of one, though as bitterly hostile as ever, was now powerless to organise a systematic opposition to his plans. He was at last free to follow his own judgment, and the greatness of his character never showed to better advantage than in the eventful years which followed the outbreak of the first Mahratta war. Realising that a crisis was impending on the western side, he promptly despatched Colonel Goddard with a force from Bengal to assist the Bombay Government. Goddard's rapid march across the peninsula through a wild and hostile country is one of the most daring and brilliant exploits in history. He reached Surat on 6th February, 1779, having marched the last 300 miles in twenty days.

The convention of Wargaom.—But meanwhile disaster had overtaken an expedition sent by the Bombay Government against Poona. After getting within eighteen miles of the place, the officer in command came to the conclusion that the task was too great for his small force, and decided to retreat. The Mahrattas at once took heart and gathered round him like a swarm of bees. The force, harassed in front and rear, and unable to obtain supplies, struggled on as far as a place called Wargaom, and there, utterly exhausted, allowed itself to be surrounded. To save his troops from annihilation, the commander was obliged to enter into a disgraceful convention with the two Mahratta leaders, Nana Furnavis and Sindhia.

British successes.—When the news of the disaster reached Bombay, the Government, though in sore straits, refused to ratify the convention, and Goddard, with whom was the fugitive Raghava, opened fresh negotiations with Nana Furnavis. But as the Mahratta haughtily declined to treat till Raghava had been given up and Salsette handed over, Goddard recommenced hostilities in January, 1780. The Mahrattas had soon cause to regret their uncompromising attitude, for Goddard captured Ahmadabad, overran Guzerat, and reduced the strong fort of Bassein; while Captain Popham, with another force sent from Bengal, stormed and took the rock fortress of Gwalior, hitherto regarded by the natives as impregnable.

The second Mysore war, 1780-1784.—In the midst of these successes alarming news arrived from Southern India.

The Madras Government, with characteristic incapacity and meddlesomeness, had so provoked Haidar Ali and the Nizam of Hyderabad that, setting aside their differences, they had agreed to make common cause with the Mahrattas against the English. The Nizam from the first does not seem to have been in earnest, and not much difficulty was found in detaching him from the alliance. But Haidar, who cherished an implacable hatred against the English for their abandonment of him in 1772, was burning for revenge; and as he had taken advantage of the war between the English and the Mahrattas in Western India to consolidate his power and to extend the boundaries of his kingdom, he was now a still more formidable antagonist than in the first Mysore war. In 1780, having completed his preparations for attack, he made a sudden descent upon the Carnatic, and laid waste the country with fire and sword up to within fifty miles of Madras. The Government, with its wonted short-sightedness, had made no preparation for such a contingency, and though all available troops were at once ordered out, only a wretchedly inadequate force could be got together. When all arrangements were complete, Sir Hector Munro with 5000 men took the field against Haidar, while Colonel Baillie marched with 2800 men to occupy Guntur. A fatal mistake was made in dividing up so small a force; for Haidar, getting between the two intercepted Baillie, overwhelmed him, and took him prisoner. Munro, now old and feeble, and but a shadow of his former self, on learning of the disaster and fearing that a similar fate would overtake him, at once retreated to Madras, and left Haidar unchecked, to spread ruin and desolation far and wide over the fertile country of the Carnatic.

Sir Eyre Coote despatched to Madras.—When Hastings received the news of this serious reverse he began at once with his accustomed calmness and energy to devise means of retrieving it. It was a difficult task, for the war in the Western Presidency had almost drained his resources. But he was as usual equal to the occasion, and within three weeks the veteran Sir Eyre Coote was despatched to Madras with all available men and money, and with orders to suspend the incompetent governor who had so recklessly involved his presidency in ruin. Haidar in the meantime

had laid siege to and captured Arcot, and was causing untold loss and suffering in all directions by his raids ; while his son Tippu was vigorously assaulting Wandewash, and its reduction appeared imminent.

Defeat of Haidar.—For four months Coote was obliged to remain inactive for want of provisions, while Haidar ravaged the country to his heart's content. Then he struck a sudden and decisive blow, catching Haidar with the bulk of his forces at a place called Porto Novo. The battle raged for six hours, and Haidar, after losing 10,000 men upon the field, was forced to fly. The news of the victory caused Tippu to relinquish the siege of Wandewash, and completely changed the aspect of affairs. But Haidar was not yet vanquished ; for, quickly gathering together a large force he attacked Coote at Pollilor. Again he suffered a crushing defeat ; but, rallying once more, he threw himself a third time upon Coote at Solinghar. After a stubbornly contested fight, he was there finally overcome and forced to retreat to the south, September, 1781. But his son Tippu still kept the field, and soon after succeeded in cutting off and overwhelming a force under Colonel Braithwaite operating on the western side.

Capture of Negapatam.—The English, though successful both against the Mahrattas and Haidar, were not yet by any means secure. Haidar was hardly in worse plight than themselves ; for they were nearly ruined by the cost of their wars, and the Mahrattas, though worsted, were still dangerous. To make matters worse, in the latter half of 1781, the French and the Dutch, who were at war with England, came forward with offers of assistance to the enemies of the English in India. But far from being overwhelmed by misfortunes, the greater the dangers and difficulties, the greater grew Hastings's spirit and the stronger his determination. The Dutch, who had been encouraging Haidar to continue the war, had soon good cause to rue their interference ; for they were attacked by land and sea in their settlement of Negapatam, and after a short resistance, forced to yield up the place with all the stores and ammunition they had been accumulating there.

Critical situation of the British.—Early in the next year a French fleet under a distinguished naval commander,

Admiral Suffren, appeared off the Coromandel coast, bringing help to Haidar in the shape of men and guns. Indecisive engagements between the French and English fleets followed; but the French managed to land 3000 men at Porto Novo, while the English, under Admiral Hughes, although getting slightly the best of the encounters, suffered so much from the effects of a storm that they were obliged to put into Madras to refit. Affairs on shore were no better; for Sir Eyre Coote quarrelled with Lord Macartney, the new governor, and resigning his command returned to Bengal. The outlook was indeed gloomy towards the end of 1782. Haidar was recovering from his defeats and had with him now a large contingent of French soldiers; and the Mahrattas, on the western side, though they had been worsted in every engagement, still kept the field, and had lately mustered in such overwhelming numbers in front of Goddard that they had compelled him to retire. Madras was famine stricken, partly from natural causes and partly owing to Haidar's devastating raids. Bengal alone was free from trouble; but its revenues were well nigh exhausted by the calls which the other Presidencies had made upon it to carry on their wars.

Death of Haidar and treaty of Salbai.—But just when things were at their worst, news arrived that Haidar who was now more than 80 years of age, had died at his capital on the 7th December, 1782, from the effects of a carbuncle. His death coming so unexpectedly caused a profound impression. Some idea of the influence which he had exercised on Indian politics may be gathered from the fact that Nana Furnavis and the Poona party, upon receipt of the news, at once agreed to sign the treaty which Sindhia, tired of the war, was trying to negotiate with the English. On the 20th of December, at Salbai, near Sindhia's capital, a treaty of peace was made between the English and the Mahrattas, under the terms of which Raghunath Rao, in consideration of foregoing his claims to the Peshwaship, received a handsome pension; the English retained Salsette; and the Mahrattas bound themselves not to admit the French or the Dutch within their dominions. Haidar's death at such a time was a great stroke of luck for the English. He was their most implacable enemy, and

with his military genius, his large and well equipped army, and the support of the French, he might have wrested from them the whole of the Carnatic, had he lived a little longer. He had been a savage and a ruthless tyrant, ignorant and bigoted, and his subjects, more especially the Hindus, had groaned under his cruel yoke. But he must have possessed uncommon powers of organisation ; for he had found Mysore a petty and insignificant principality, and had left it the most powerful kingdom in the peninsula.

Tippu resumes the war.—Tippu was away on the Malabar coast when the news of his father's death reached him, and he hurried at once to Seringapatam to take possession of the vacant throne. He had good reason to congratulate himself upon his father's thrift ; for, in addition to a territory which stretched as far north as the Krishna, he came into possession of three crores of rupees in cash and vast hoards of treasure in jewels and gold. Tippu, though a man of energy, had not his father's abilities ; but he was equally ambitious and unscrupulous, and had an even blinder hatred of the English. Finding himself possessed of such vast wealth, with an army of more than 100,000 men at his command, and supported by the French, he was not inclined to make peace with the English. He therefore hastened back to the Malabar coast to resume hostilities. General Matthews, who was in command of the forces operating on the western side and had been meeting with continuous success, soon found the tables turned upon him. Tippu, as Sultan of Mysore, was a very different person to be reckoned with than as heir-apparent. Matthews was forced to give up all he had taken, and within a year, being shut up at Mangalore with no hope of escape, was obliged to capitulate after a gallant resistance.

French support withdrawn from Tippu.—While Tippu was engaged upon the Malabar coast, the French under their veteran leader Bussy had managed to land a large force at Cuddalore to aid him. Things were becoming so serious that Hastings despatched Sir Eyre Coote again to Madras to take up the supreme command. But, two days after landing, the fine old soldier died. His military career, which throughout had been almost uniformly brilliant, reached back to the days of Plassey. His loss at

such a time was a great misfortune, for he was dreaded by the enemies of the English more than any other commander. Stuart, who succeeded him, was quarrelsome and irresolute, and wasted precious time in dilatory operations. A crisis again seemed imminent, when the English were once more saved by their good fortune. News arrived at this juncture that peace had been made between the English and the French in Europe. Bussy at once withdrew his troops and recalled the French officers and men lent to Tippu. Tippu, finding himself unsupported, and learning that a force under Colonel Fullerton had entered Mysore and was marching on his capital after reducing the forts along the way, surlily and with much reluctance consented to receive envoys of peace from the English.

The treaty of Mangalore.—It was by this time characteristic of the Madras Government to throw away its advantages, and it need not therefore be a matter of surprise that, in the midst of Fullerton's victorious progress, it sent an embassy to Tippu and sued for peace. By the treaty of Mangalore, 1784, which resulted from these negotiations, each side agreed to give up all that it had gained by the war, and Tippu restored to liberty such of his English prisoners as had survived the misery of their captivity, or had not, like the unfortunate Baillie and Matthews, actually been murdered in prison. Peace on such terms with a proud, revengeful and inveterate enemy, who now despised the English as much as he hated them, could not be lasting, and Lord Macartney who concluded it must bear the blame for what followed ; but at any rate it put an end for a time to hostilities in India, and gave the British time to recover from the exhaustion resulting from their recent struggles.

The untamable spirit of Hastings.—The Governments of Madras and Bombay had shown recklessness and incapacity in the conduct of their wars. That disaster was averted was due to the energy and judgment of Hastings alone. He had kept them constantly supplied with money and troops, and, when their own generals proved incompetent, had even supplied them with able commanders to replace them. He had never failed them in their hour of need, although himself at his wits' end to find means to

meet their calls upon him ; all the while, too, he had his own difficulties to contend with. Francis had never ceased to harass him with his opposition, and with unflagging malice to misrepresent his motives. The Court of Directors, which should have supported him with its confidence, treated him, as he himself says, "with every mark of indignity and reproach." But no amount of opposition or mortification could break his indomitable spirit ; instead, his determination to overcome his difficulties seemed to grow with their accumulation.

His methods of raising money.—Hastings's methods of meeting his financial embarrassments have been severely blamed ; and as it was in the main on this account that he was subsequently impeached by Parliament, we must therefore briefly glance at the more important of them.

The insurrection at Benares.—In 1778, with his council's approval, he had called upon Chet Singh, the Rajah of Benares, for a war subsidy of five lakhs of rupees. This was provided without demur ; but when Hastings the next year made a similar demand, the Rajah did not comply. It will be remembered that Chet Singh had been made a tributary of the British by the Council, when the Vizier of Oudh was made to cede the districts of Ghazipur and Benares to the Company. As a feudatory he was, by immemorial custom, liable to aid his sovereign in time of war both with men and money, if called upon to do so. The contribution was not excessive, and the Rajah was moreover immensely rich ; but he had heard exaggerated accounts of the disasters which had overtaken the British in Madras, and had begun to wonder whether the end of their rule might not be at hand. He was, therefore, hesitating whether or not to comply with their further demands.

Hastings determined to teach him a lesson ; and, as he was on his way to visit the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, he halted at Benares and demanded from the Rajah fifty lakhs of rupees as a fine for his dilatoriness, and, further, called upon him to answer a charge of treasonable correspondence with the enemies of the British. As the Rajah's reply was unsatisfactory, Hastings, though with but a small escort, ordered his arrest. The Rajah submitted quietly enough ; but this rash act caused an immediate commotion in the city,

which quickly developed into a riot. The guard placed over the Rajah was massacred, the Rajah escaped, and within a few hours Hastings was in a very awkward predicament, being practically defenceless in the midst of a tumultuous and hostile mob. That night he and the few who were with him slipped away after dark to the fortress of Chunar.

The disturbance spread very rapidly, and in a short time the whole country was up in arms. Hastings was soon closely invested in his place of refuge by the Rajah's troops. In this alarming situation he acted with his accustomed coolness and resolution, and, while concerting measures to repress the rebellion, took steps to prevent its spreading beyond the Rajah's territory. To Major Popham was entrusted the task of restoring order, and he did it speedily and effectually. The Rajah's troops, which were little better than an undisciplined rabble, were quickly dispersed, and the Rajah, fearing that he would be captured if he remained any longer in the field, fled to Gwalior. The country was soon pacified, and, the Rajah having been pronounced a rebel, his estates were confiscated and made over to his nephew. Much was made of this incident by the enemies of Hastings, and it must be admitted that his conduct was rash and his treatment of the Rajah in the earlier stages unduly severe.

The affair of the Begums of Oudh.—While Hastings was still at Chunar he was visited by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh. Hastings was now in greater straits for money than ever, for the visit to Benares, instead of producing fifty lakhs of rupees, had resulted in a small campaign and a temporary suspension of revenue. Money had to be found somehow; for the Governments of Bombay and Madras, destitute of funds with which to pay their troops on service, were beseeching him for instant help to save them from utter ruin. The Nawab of Oudh was very much in the Company's debt; and, since the Council at Calcutta had decided that the Begums should retain possession of the treasure and the districts which they had laid claim to on the death of his father, he was quite incapable of meeting his liabilities. Hastings had good reason for suspecting that one, at any rate, of the Begums had lent aid to the

rebellious Rajah of Benares, and it was a matter of common knowledge that both were intriguing against the Nawab. He did not therefore consider that they were entitled to much consideration ; so that when the Nawab proposed, as a means of liquidating his debts, to despoil the Begums, he readily acquiesced.

Had Hastings gone no further, his conduct would have been correct ; for the Begums' claim was an unjust one, and Hastings had opposed it from the first and had never since acknowledged it. But in sending a body of the company's troops to coerce them, when they proved stubborn and the timid Nawab began to waver, he not only went beyond his authority, but acted in a manner unbecoming the dignity of his position. It is fair, however, to add that after compelling the Begums to give up their lands and treasure, he took care to ensure that they should receive handsome pensions.

His duel with Francis.—If it cannot be denied that the methods which Hastings had sometimes recourse to were not such as a high-minded statesman would employ, in his defence it may fairly be pleaded that he acted as he did from no mean personal motives, but to protect the Company's dominions in time of great emergency. The manner in which he rid himself at last of his implacable enemy Francis was characteristic both of himself and of his times. Towards the close of 1780, goaded to desperation by the ceaseless attacks of this man and by his rancorous and unpatriotic opposition, he charged him openly in council with being 'void of truth and honour.' Such an insult was a deliberate provocation, and according to the code of honour of those days made it incumbent on Francis to send Hastings a challenge to fight a duel. The two men met each other a little way out of Calcutta two days later, and Hastings so severely wounded Francis that he had to be carried from the ground. The duel served Hastings's purpose well, for Francis, as soon as his wound would permit him, left for England. But Hastings purchased his temporary relief at a heavy cost, as Francis, a man of extraordinary pertinacity, devoted himself with all the ardour of his malignant nature to the task of poisoning the public mind against him.

The dispute with the Supreme Court.—There remains one other matter in connection with the conduct of Hastings, which was once more generally considered censurable than it is now. The establishment of a Supreme Court under the Regulating Act led to a conflict of jurisdiction between it and the District Courts, owing to the powers of the new court not having been properly defined. Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, and the judges of the Supreme Court claimed the right of general interference and the power to override the decisions of the District Courts. As the District Courts dispensed a somewhat rough and ready justice in accordance with the law and usage of the land, and the Supreme Court insisted on enforcing English law, strife and great confusion naturally ensued. The Council took the side of the District Courts, and strongly remonstrated with the Supreme Court for its unlawful interference. The Supreme Court rejoined with some heat, and as neither party would give way, a deadlock ensued.

There had been in Calcutta for many years under the old system a Central Court of Appeal, called the Sudder Adalat, over which the Governor-General presided ; but since the Regulating Act it had been seldom resorted to by litigants. Hastings, as a means of putting an end to the dispute with the Supreme Court and preventing further conflict of jurisdiction, made Impey the chief judge of this court, and gave him a considerable addition to his salary for the extra work the appointment entailed upon him. The arrangement was vehemently decried as a bribe to Impey to forego his opposition as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court ; but as Impey accepted the position subject to the approval of the Directors, and the measure, besides reconciling all parties, was a practical solution of the difficulties, the charge of corruption falls to the ground. The district judges, whose method of dispensing justice had been haphazard, benefited by having someone to direct them according to recognised principles. The Court of Directors subsequently, influenced by the malicious misrepresentations of Francis, disallowed the arrangement ; but that the plan of placing the District Courts under the charge of the chief judge of the Supreme Court was a good one is proved by the fact that since 1853, when the Company's charter was renewed, the High Court

of each presidency has been the Court of Appeal from the District Courts.

Hastings resigns office.—In 1783, just when Hastings after his long struggle believed himself finally to have emerged from his difficulties, he received a letter from the Court of Directors directly censuring him, and expressing the strongest disapproval of his conduct at Benares and in the affair of the Begums of Oudh. In spite of this and of the growing hostility to him in England, he stuck doggedly to his post for another two years. Then, finding himself abandoned by the Ministry in Parliament, on the support of which he had confidently counted, he resigned, and in February, 1785, left India. When it became known that he was going, his countrymen and the native princes and nobles of Northern India united in expressing their admiration of his high and statesmanlike qualities and their regret at his departure. He was returning to his native land in great depression of spirits, with little hope of meeting there with a just and impartial verdict upon his work ; and as he had loved India well and spent the best part of his life in her service, it must have been a great consolation to him to be thus assured that there at any rate his work was appreciated.

His work as an administrator.—Whatever may be the estimate in which his public acts are held, no one will now deny that Hastings was guided solely by patriotic motives in what he did ; and it should not be forgotten that he steered the ship of empire safely through a time of unexampled storm and stress, and that but for the energy, resolution, and resourcefulness which he displayed throughout all that dark period it must have foundered and gone down. To him must be given the credit of planning a system of administration which in the main is still in force, and reducing the chaotic rule of the company to an ordered and settled government. In the midst of the cares of state and the anxieties which so continually beset him, he yet managed to find time to pay attention to many matters of public utility, amongst which may be mentioned the opening of a trade route with Thibet, the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit literature by European scholars, the founding of a learned society called the Royal

Asiatic Society, the translation and compilation of a digest of Hindu law, and the establishment of a madrassah or college for Muhammedan education in Calcutta.

His impeachment.—On his return to England he met at first with an unexpectedly favourable reception. But Francis, his bitter and relentless enemy, was now in Parliament, and had succeeded in persuading many of the most influential politicians of the day that Hastings was a corrupt and rapacious tyrant. Three years after his return, so great was the feeling aroused against him that he was impeached for crimes alleged to have been committed by him during his Governor-Generalship. After one of the longest and most famous trials in history he was acquitted on all counts. Though much reduced in circumstances by the expenses of his defence he was not utterly ruined, but lived for many years after the trial in honourable retirement, and died at his country seat at the ripe age of 86.

The India Bill of 1784.—During the last year of Warren Hastings's Governor-Generalship, Indian affairs absorbed a good deal of the attention of Parliament. The late ruinous wars and the cases of the Rajah of Benares and the Begums of Oudh had created considerable uneasiness in England and great distrust of the Company's methods of dealing with the native states. William Pitt, who was then Prime Minister, shared in the general desire to curtail the powers of the East India Company and increase those of the Crown. He accordingly brought in a bill, the chief provisions of which were : the creation of a Board of Control in England of six members, presided over by an Indian Minister ; the reduction of the Governor-General's Council to three members ; the granting of authority to the Governor-General to override his Council in case of emergency ; and the withdrawal of his powers of making war or entering into alliances with native princes on his own responsibility. The general result of the measure was that the Governor-General's supremacy in India was ensured, but his authority was curtailed.

Sindhia becomes supreme at Delhi.—An interval of twenty months elapsed before a successor to Warren Hastings was appointed from England. Meanwhile Sir

John Macpherson, Senior Member of Council, held charge. The period was an uneventful one, as far as the company's government was concerned, but it was utilised to good purpose by Tippu and by Sindhia. Sindhia had been largely instrumental in bringing about the peace of Salbai, and had in consequence been more generously dealt with by the English than other Mahratta chiefs. Being an extremely ambitious man he was encouraged thereby to embark on schemes of aggrandisement. Shortly after the conclusion of peace he seized upon the territory of his Rajput neighbour, the Rana of Gohud. He next paid a visit to Delhi and obtained from the feeble emperor, Shah Alum II., the post of commander-in-chief of the imperial army. Shah Alum was not in a position to resist him, even if he had wished, and Sindhia soon usurped all authority and did as he pleased in Delhi and Agra, the two sole remaining provinces of the Moghul empire. So puffed up did he become with success that he sent at length a demand, in the name of the Emperor, to Macpherson for the tribute of Bengal. As this had not been paid since the time when Shah Alum II. had left British protection for that of the Mahrattas, Sindhia was curtly told that the tribute had been forfeited, and that he must immediately withdraw the claim. Since he was not prepared to go to war again with the English, he at once explained that it had been made under a misapprehension, and there the matter ended.

Tippu persecutes the Hindus of the south.— Tippu, after the peace of Mangalore, turned his attention to the Hindu principalities lying to the south and west of his dominions. Though a man of more culture than his father, he seems to have inherited a double portion of his cruelty and bigotry. With his vast and well-equipped army he swept like a whirlwind upon Kanara and Coorg, slaughtering the inhabitants or forcing them at the sword's point to embrace Islam, and pillaging and burning Hindu temples. It is said that two thousand Brahmans perished by their own hands to escape conversion, and that one hundred thousand persons were carried away and forcibly made into Mussulmans. This cruel persecution of the Hindus infuriated the Mahrattas; and Tippu's assumption

at this time of the title of *Badshah*, which had hitherto been reserved for the Delhi emperors alone, greatly displeased the Nizam. Nana Furnavis had little difficulty, therefore, in persuading the Nizam to join in a war for the spoliation of the cruel and arrogant tyrant.

But Tippu was too strong for the allies, and by carrying the war into their country soon forced them to come to terms. They had to acknowledge unconditionally his right to do as he pleased in the country south of the Tunga-bhadra River; while he on his part gave back the towns he had taken from them, and paid the Mahrattas the arrears of tribute which they claimed under the treaty made with his father in 1772. Tippu, fortified by the new treaty, then invaded the territory of the Nayars in Malabar. He afterwards boasted that in this expedition he had destroyed 8000 Hindu temples, and that such of the population as he did not slay he converted to Islam or expelled the country. Thus, strangely enough, at a time when Hinduism was triumphantly asserting itself in other parts of India, the Hindus of the extreme south were at last subjected to the Muhammedan yoke, and made to suffer a persecution in which all the horrors of the early Pathan invasions of Northern India were repeated.

Lord Cornwallis, 1786-1793—his reform of the services.—In September, 1786, the new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, arrived in India. He came out with the declared intention of avoiding war and devoting himself to the reform of the company's service. In spite of the efforts of Clive and Hastings corruption was rampant in all branches, and the Company's servants continued to enrich themselves by illicit gains at its expense. In Madras, particularly, grave scandals were allowed to go on unchecked, and were even in some instances connived at by the authorities. Lord Cornwallis turned his attention at once to this subject, and acted with vigour, firmness, and sympathy. Clive's proposal to pay the civil and military officers of the Company at a scale which would enable them to live by honest means was given effect to, and the regulations against bribery and corrupt practices were at the same time put stringently in force. Measures were also taken to reform the currency which had become debased;

so that no shadow of excuse for dishonesty now remained. The best proof of the fairness of his measures is to be found in the fact that the Company's servants responded generously to his effort to ameliorate their condition, by generally ceasing to accept bribes or enrich themselves by underhand dealings.

His judicial reforms.—To Lord Cornwallis is due the credit of certain important judicial reforms. Up to this time criminal justice had been administered by native subordinate judges under the District Officer, and there was no criminal appellate court at the headquarters of government. In the circumstances there was much complaint of unfairness and corruption. To secure the independence of the judiciary Lord Cornwallis separated the functions of District Judge and Collector and appointed Europeans to the former post also ; further, in order to ensure greater uniformity in the administration of justice, he established at Calcutta an Appellate Court of Criminal Judicature. To Lord Cornwallis is also due the abolition of the distinction of "writers" and "merchants" among the Company's servants, and the organisation of a regular civil service. He may in truth be said to have completed the structure of administration of which Hastings had so skilfully laid the foundations, and though subsequently many changes have been introduced, the system in the main remains the same.

Agreement for the cession of Guntur.—Lord Cornwallis arrived in India with a strong prejudice against the methods of his predecessor, but he soon found that he had misjudged Hastings, and that it was not so easy to keep out of entanglements as he had imagined. The Nizam of Hyderabad had promised some time before to cede to the British the district known as Guntur, south of the Krishna River. The possession of Guntur was of great strategical importance to the Madras Government, and as the Nizam seemed inclined to forget his promise, Lord Cornwallis peremptorily ordered him to hand it over. This the Nizam did at once, but stipulated that a British contingent should be lent to him to help him, if need be, against Tippu. Lord Cornwallis consented readily ; for he had by this time realised that the greatest source of danger to the peace of India lay in the growing power of Tippu, and he

felt that something must be done to curb his aggressive insolence.

Triple alliance against Tippu.—Tippu himself brought matters to a crisis by attacking the Rajah of Travancore, who was an ally of the English. War was at once declared upon him, and not only the Nizam but the Mahrattas also were induced to join against him; for much as Nana Furnavis, their great statesman, feared the English, he feared and hated Tippu more, and the whole Mahratta country was burning for revenge upon the cruel persecutor of the Hindus.

The third Mysore war, 1790-1792.—The Madras Government began the war with traditional half-heartedness, and Lord Cornwallis, who was himself a tried soldier, came down from Calcutta in 1790 to conduct the war in person. Tippu was deceived as to the direction taken by the English army, and Bangalore, the second city of his kingdom, was captured before he could come to its assistance. Two months later at Arikera, close to Seringapatam, where at length he came up with the British, he suffered so disastrous a defeat that he fled for refuge to his capital. The supplies of the British at this time began to fall short, and the Mahrattas, who should have been at hand, were far away engaged in plunder. Lord Cornwallis was therefore forced to return to Madras. But the campaign still went on, and, one after another, Tippu's fortresses, deemed impregnable by him, were captured.

In January, 1792, the Governor-General, having completed his preparations, took the field again and marched direct upon Seringapatam at the head of a magnificent army. But the Mahrattas, who were expected to join him in large force, sent only a small contingent, and the troops of the Nizam proved worthless. The size and splendid equipment of the British army had alarmed the allies, and they were now as anxious to save Tippu from his fate as they had previously been anxious to procure his ruin; for they feared that with Tippu's power destroyed there would be no one left capable of checking the British.

Seringapatam, a fortress of extraordinary strength, was invested by the combined forces early in February. Notwithstanding its strength and the skill with which its

defences had been constructed, its outer works were soon stormed and captured by the British, and the place was about to fall when Tippu wisely sued for peace. Lord Cornwallis conducted the negotiations in a very different spirit to that in which the Madras Government had arranged the treaty of Mangalore. Tippu was made to cede to the British the districts of Dindigal, the Baramahal, and Malabar, and to restore Coorg to its Hindu Raja, to pay thirty crores, and to surrender two of his sons as hostages for his good behaviour.

Lord Cornwallis did not escape censure in England for provoking the war, and adding fresh territory to the Company's dominions ; but the wisdom of his action in humbling the aggressive and insolent Tippu was so generally admitted that the attacks made upon his conduct failed ignominiously, and he was even made a marquis for his services.

The Permanent Settlement.—The Governor-General now turned his attention once more to the subject of reform. The land tax had been from time immemorial the chief source of revenue in India. The Moghul emperors had been accustomed to collect their revenue by means of local agents whose business it had been to realise for the state a certain sum annually. By degrees, as the Empire fell to pieces, the agents in Bengal, left pretty much to their own devices, had developed into semi-independent local magnates, exercising authority by the maintenance of miniature armies. The East India Company, in making its land revenue collections, had ignored the *Zemindars*, as they were called, and dealt directly with the cultivators. The system had not worked well, and the Directors recommended that the experiment of collecting the revenue through the *Zemindars* should be tried for ten years at any rate. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis, going beyond his instructions, recognized the *Zemindars* as the absolute owners of the soil, and made a permanent settlement of the land revenue with them instead of with the cultivators. Except from the point of view of the landlords the Permanent Settlement is now considered by most competent judges to have been a mistake. The hope that the landlords would prove far-sighted enough to encourage their tenants by generous treatment to improve their estates has proved fallacious ;

and while the value of land has greatly risen the State secures no increase in revenue on that account nor the cultivator as a rule any better terms. On the other hand the measure did not provide against tyranny and extortion but left the tenants practically no remedies against rapacious landlords.

Departure of Lord Cornwallis.—Lord Cornwallis left India in 1793 after seven years of office. Though not comparable as a statesman with Hastings, and having far less difficulties to contend with, his work, as judged by its results, was almost equally important; for by his reform of the services and his firm and vigorous policy he had added dignity and stability to the growing empire.

His greatest mistake, and one it is strange that so tolerant and large-minded a man should have committed, was his laying down rules whereby the natives of India were excluded from all but the most subordinate posts in the public service.

Sir John Shore, 1793-1798.—He was succeeded by Sir John Shore, a Bengal civilian, who had brought himself into notice by the ability he had displayed in carrying out the Permanent Settlement. Like Cornwallis, he looked upon himself as bound to abstain from interference in the affairs of native states, and to enter on none but defensive wars. The result of such a policy was that the implacable Tippu, being allowed to do as he pleased, began openly to make preparations for another struggle and to negotiate with the French, who were then at war with England in Europe, for assistance against the British in India. It was a prevalent but mistaken notion then, that the safety of the East India Company's dominions in India could best be secured by the maintenance of a balance of power among the native princes, and by holding aloof as far as possible from their internecine quarrels.

Battle of Kurdla.—In pursuance of this policy Sir John Shore declined to help the Nizam of Hyderbad, when the latter was threatened with war by Nana Furnavis for non-payment of disputed arrears of tribute. The Mahrattas, surprised and delighted at being thus given a free hand to deal with their ancient rival, mustered together to the task of subduing him in a way they had

not done for many years. Sindhia, Holkar, the Bhonsla, and the Gaekwar of Baroda, besides most of the petty chiefs, all sent their contingents to the campaign. The Nizam had no chance against such a combination, and in 1795 sustained, at the battle of Kurdla, so crushing a defeat that he was obliged at once to submit to the most humiliating terms of peace. It was a great triumph for the Mahrattas, and for Nana Furnavis in particular ; for besides compelling the Nizam to pay three crores of rupees and cede several districts to them, they had at length reduced the last Moghul stronghold, and made themselves supreme from Delhi to the Tungabhadra.

Interference in the affairs of Oudh.—But Sir John Shore, despite all his good intentions, could not get through his term of office without interfering in the affairs of a native state. The condition of the neighbouring kingdom of Oudh forced him at length, much against his will, to intervene. Long continued misrule had reduced the country to such a state of disorder that its condition had become a serious menace to the neighbouring territories of the Company. The Nawab Vizier, sunk in sloth and debauchery, neglected public business altogether, and turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances from the Governor-General. So grave did the situation at last become that Sir John Shore found it necessary to remove him and to place Saadat Ali, a brother of his predecessor, on the vacant throne.

This was the Governor-General's last important act, and it is noteworthy that it should have been a reversal of the policy of non-interference which he had so long and so blindly supported. He cannot be said to have fulfilled the high expectations formed of him ; and he left to his successor a plentiful crop of troubles. For Tippu, by the aid of French officers, was once more at the head of a powerful army, and the Mahrattas, since their defeat of the Nizam, had begun to assume an aggressive attitude.

Lord Mornington, 1798-1805.—Sir John Shore was succeeded in 1798 by Lord Mornington, "the Great Pro-consul," as he has been fittingly called ; for no other Governor-General exercised so despotic an authority or so largely added by conquest to the territories of the Company

His period of office is one of the most critical and eventful in Indian history, and it marks the final stage in the struggle between the British and the native powers for supremacy.

French influence in the native courts.—He came out with two fixed ideas: one was to make the Company the paramount power in India, and the other to root out the malign French influence which, under the non-interference policy of his two immediate predecessors, had been steadily growing stronger at the courts of the leading native princes. The latter was the more pressing necessity; for Napoleon Buonaparte, who was then in Egypt, was known to favour the proposal for a French invasion of India, and to be in communication with his countrymen there and in the Mauritius regarding it. French influence was all-powerful at the courts of the Nizam, Sindhia, and Tippu, and many French officers and men had taken service in the armies of various native princes. Tippu's hatred for the English had become an absorbing passion with him, and he had begun openly to boast that with the help of the French he meant to drive them out of the country. There was only too good reason to suspect also that the Mahrattas and the Nizam, influenced by their French advisers, were secretly intriguing with him to the same end. The position of the British in India in the year 1798, thus threatened by a formidable combination of leading native powers backed and aided by the French with men and guns, was as critical as at any period in their history.

It was to such a state of things that Lord Mornington, with his preconceived notions, arrived. It is no wonder that he found in them confirmation of his views. While the native powers maintained their political independence and were guided by French influence, there could be no guarantee of permanent peace in the land. He therefore set himself the task of devising means of putting an end to the one and stamping out the other. It was necessary for the peace of the country that some one power should be supreme, and he was determined that that power should be the British.

Threatening attitude of the native powers.—

He had not long to wait for an occasion to put his views into practice; for he had only been in the country a few weeks when indisputable proof reached him that Tippu had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the French with the object of attacking the British. Lord Mornington at once called upon Tippu to renounce his alliance with the French and respect his treaty obligations with the British. Tippu returned evasive answers and continued his preparations for war with feverish haste. The situation was daily growing more serious. The Mahrattas and the Nizam could not be trusted to remain neutral in case of hostilities breaking out, and the ruler of Afghanistan, to whom Tippu was known to have appealed, was threatening to invade Northern India. To add to the Governor-General's anxieties, the Madras Government could not be made to realise the seriousness of the situation, and in response to his urgent appeals to it made the most inadequate preparations to meet the coming storm.

The Nizam forced into a subsidiary alliance. —Had Lord Mornington followed at this crisis the traditional policy of non-interference in the affairs of native states, the British Empire in India might have been simultaneously attacked on all sides; in which case it would in all probability have been overwhelmed. But he had the courage and ability to strike out a new line of policy. In place of the balance of power, by which his predecessors had sought to hold in check ambitious native princes, he introduced what is known as the Subsidiary System. It will be remembered that Warren Hastings had made an arrangement with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, whereby, in return for a guarantee of protection against foreign invasion, the Nawab had acknowledged the supremacy of the British and had agreed to maintain a subsidiary force to aid them in time of need. Lord Mornington boldly called upon the Nizam to enter into a similar agreement, and backed up his demand with such prompt and vigorous action that the Nizam agreed at once. What no doubt greatly influenced the Nizam's decision was that the French soldiers in his army were on the verge of mutiny for arrears of pay, and his French advisers, backed by the army, had lately begun to adopt a threatening tone towards him. A

British force was immediately despatched to Hyderabad to see the agreement carried out. The French officers in the Nizam's service were completely taken by surprise owing to the suddenness of the move, and without the need of striking a blow the French troops were disbanded. The Nizam at once signed the agreement and undertook in addition not to employ in future any Europeans without the consent of the British Government. The Peshwa, when asked to do the same, declined; but he was so much impressed by the way in which the British had put an end to French influence in Hyderabad, that he hastened to assure the Governor-General of his loyalty to existing treaties.

The fourth Mysore War, 1799.—Having thus prevented the dreaded combination by detaching the Maharratas and converting the Nizam into an ally, Lord Mornington sent an envoy to demand from Tippu an immediate and satisfactory reply to his communications, and went himself to Madras in December, 1798, to direct affairs in person. He had rightly little confidence in the ability of the Madras Government to conduct negotiations or prepare for eventualities. Tippu, relying on the promises of French assistance and encouraged by a friendly letter he had received from the great Napoleon himself, who was conducting at the time his famous campaign in Egypt, treated the British envoy with contempt. Further negotiations being out of the question, war was declared upon him. Two armies were despatched against his capital, one by way of the Carnatic under General Harris, the commander-in-chief, and the other down the Malabar coast from Bombay under General Stuart. The Nizam also sent a subsidiary force of 20,000 men under the nominal command of his son, but really led by the Governor-General's brother, Colonel Wellesley, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington.

Tippu forced to retreat.—Tippu attacked the Bombay army first and suffered a severe defeat at Sedasir. He then fell upon the army of the Carnatic at Mallavelli, within twenty-six miles of Seringapatam, and was again heavily defeated. He was now upon the defensive, and his only chance was to prevent General Harris from crossing

the Caveri and effecting a junction with General Stuart. But his two defeats seem to have so much upset him as to deprive him of his generalship; for he allowed General Harris to elude him, and, before he had realised what movement was in progress, the river had been crossed and the Madras and Bombay armies had united. He made no further effort to check the advance of the British, but retreated before them to his capital. His rage and desperation at this time led him to act like a madman. Fits of ungovernable fury were followed by periods of blank despair, and, after proposing peace, he would not listen to terms. Meanwhile, with characteristic savagery, he put to death every European prisoner that had fallen into his hands.

Fall of Seringapatam.—The siege of Seringapatam is one of the most glorious episodes in British Indian history. It commenced on the 15th of April, and by the 4th of May a breach had been made in the stupendous fortifications. General Baird, who had once spent four years as a prisoner in the dungeons of the fort, gallantly led the assault. A desperate little band of the defenders, among whom was the Sultan himself, attempted to repel it; but the British, despite their heavy losses, clambered in, and in a few minutes the city was taken. The Sultan's body was found in the archway where the fight had been thickest under a heap of slain. No further resistance was offered; and the city with its quantities of military stores and its immense treasure was handed over to the conquerors.

Settlement after the war.—The family of Tippu was removed from the kingdom and Colonel Wellesley was appointed Governor of Seringapatam, with orders to restore order in the country. The Sultan's dominions were divided up, the northern portion adjoining Hyderabad being given to the Nizam, while the districts of Kanara, Coimbatore and the Wynnaad were annexed to the Company's dominions, thus effectually preventing in future any landing of the French along the seacoast under the protection of a native ruler. The ancient Hindu royal family was almost extinct; but after a diligent search a boy of five years of age belonging to it was found living in a miserable hovel in a suburb of Seringapatam. He was duly installed

upon the throne, and given a kingdom roughly corresponding to the old Mysore state.

Effects of the war.—The conquest of Mysore made a great impression on the native princes and gave to the British undisputed supremacy in the Deccan. Two years later the Nawab of Arcot, who was still the nominal ruler of the Carnatic, handed over the whole of his territories to the British, in return for a large pension. About the same time the Rajah of Tanjore died without issue, and the Governor-General pensioned off his adopted son and annexed his territory. The Madras Presidency was thus greatly extended, and at the present time is little altered from what it then became. The overthrow of Tippu was recognised in England as a great achievement. Lord Mornington was made Marquis of Wellesley for his services, and suitable honours were conferred upon those who had played a prominent part in bringing it about.

The Peshwa seeks British protection.—Mahratta affairs next engaged the Governor-General's attention. The old confederacy was now practically dissolved, and the authority of the Peshwa, Baji Rao II., extended little beyond Poona, while the Rajah of Satara was a mere puppet with no influence at all. In 1795 the famous Maharani Ahalya Bai, who had for thirty years ruled the Holkar state so wisely and so well, died, and in 1800 Nana Furnavis, who by his statecraft had managed to keep the Peshwa's Government together, also died. The whole Mahratta country fell into a state of great confusion soon after and civil war broke out in various places. The leading chiefs at that time were Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao, a wild free-booter who had seized the reins of government in the Holkar state after the death of the Maharani, and a bitter feud existed between them. Each was jealous of the other's influence and each wished to get control of the Peshwa. First Jaswant Rao pillaged the sacred city of Ujjain in Sindhia's dominions, and then Daulat Rao pillaged Indore, Holkar's capital. The Peshwa favoured Sindhia, and, as their combined forces were much greater than those of Holkar, they together gained many successes against him. But Jaswant Rao was a dashing and brilliant soldier, and, just when his antagonists were expecting him to yield,

he suddenly turned the tables upon them. By a forced march he arrived unexpectedly in the vicinity of Poona in October, 1801, and, taking his enemies completely by surprise, defeated them decisively. Baji Rao II. at once fled to Bassein and put himself under British protection. Jaswant Rao Holkar entered Poona unopposed and set up a puppet Peshwa of his own choosing.

The treaty of Bassein.—The Governor-General had not relinquished his project of bringing the Mahratta chiefs under the subsidiary system. When therefore Baji Rao applied to the British for aid in recovering Poona, he agreed to assist him on condition that he entered into a subsidiary alliance. Baji Rao, being anxious on any terms to regain his capital, and recognising that there was no other way in which he could hope to do so, submitted to the condition; and on the last day of 1802, signed a treaty at Bassein, engaging to maintain a subsidiary force, to take into his service no European without the consent of the British, and to enter into no engagements with other powers without the permission of the Governor-General.

The second Mahratta War, 1803.—The great Mahratta chiefs were all, as was natural, furiously angry when they heard the news, and refused to recognise the treaty. But General Wellesley, who was in command of the British forces, advanced so rapidly against Poona for the purpose of reinstating the Peshwa, that no concerted action was possible on their part, and Jaswant Rao sullenly retreated to Indore. But though an immediate conflict had been avoided by Wellesley's promptness, serious trouble was clearly imminent; for Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsla were moving large masses of troops into the Deccan. The shifty and treacherous Peshwa, too, was found to be secretly urging them on. General Wellesley, recognising that war was inevitable, forced them to unmask by proposing that all parties, including the British, should retire to their own territory. This they declined to do, and war was at once declared upon them. The Governor-General felt that his opportunity had come to humble the Mahrattas, and he determined to make the most of it. When all was ready he arranged for an attack upon them at seven different points; but the two largest and most important forces sent

against them were those commanded by General Lake and General Sir Arthur Wellesley. The armies of Sindhia and Raghiji Bhonsla were many times larger than the British, and had been carefully trained by French officers. It is said that at the beginning of the war there were upwards of 300,000 Mahrattas in the field.

The battle of Assaye.—General Wellesley scored the first success in August, 1803, by capturing Ahmadnagar, in which Sindhia had stored his munitions of war. Sindhia retaliated by plundering the Nizam's dominions in rear of the British. But he was not permitted to do so for long with impunity, for Wellesley wheeled round, and by forced marches came up with him at Assaye, a little village lying in the fork of two tributaries of the Godavari, between Khandesh and Berar. With Sindhia was Raghiji Bhonsla, and the two had with them 128 guns and upwards of 50,000 men, including 30,000 cavalry. To meet this vast army Wellesley had no more than 4,700 soldiers, of whom about 1,500 only were Europeans, and 26 guns; moreover, the position the Mahrattas had taken up was a very strong one. The prospect was sufficiently appalling, but Wellesley determined nevertheless to attack the enemy at once. On September 23rd the British advanced, and were met by a terrific and well-directed cannonade, which mowed down hundreds of them. But, nothing daunted by their heavy losses, they swept irresistibly forward, and, coming to close quarters, charged boldly in among the enemy. The Mahrattas fought stubbornly, but they could not withstand the British bayonets for long, and, after a desperate struggle over the guns, wavered, broke, and were driven with great slaughter into the stream behind their position. Sindhia and the Bhonsla fled from the field long before the end, and were pursued by Colonel Stevenson, who had arrived with reinforcements too late to take part in the battle. The victory was a most glorious one; the enemy's losses amounted to upwards of 10,000 men, and the whole of their artillery was taken. But so severe had been the struggle that the British losses amounted to a third of the forces engaged.

Lake's victorious campaign.—General Lake mean-

while advancing from Cawnpore captured by storm the strong fort of Aligarh, defeated Sindhia's French general Bourquin at Delhi, and then took Agra. This was the end for ever of Mahratta influence at Delhi and of Sindhia's pretensions in North-Western India. But Sindhia's power was not yet completely broken; for the flower of his army, known as The Invincibles, including a veteran battalion which had been trained by a famous French officer, De Boigne, still remained to be dealt with. Lake, therefore, after the fall of Agra, went southward in pursuit of them, and on November 1st came up with them at a place called Laswari in the Alwar state. The battle which followed was almost as bloody and decisive as that of Assaye. The Mahrattas, though fighting with desperate courage, could not withstand the British onslaught, and were again driven from the field.

Sindhia and Raghaji enter into treaty with the British.—Sindhia was now in great straits. In every part of his dominions towns and fortresses had been captured by the British, and his magnificent army, beaten at every point, was almost destroyed. Raghaji Bhonsla had still a large army intact, but further resistance was clearly useless; for besides being decisively beaten by Lake and Wellesley, the confederate Rajahs had suffered defeat at other points, notably in Bundelkhand and Orissa, out of both of which their forces had been driven. Sindhia at this juncture made overtures of peace, but the terms offered him were such as he would not accept, and the war was therefore continued. It did not last much longer, however; for in November, Wellesley and Stevenson, catching the remnant of his forces and the bulk of Raghaji Bhonsla's together at Argaon in Berar completely defeated them after a short and bloody contest and scattered them in flight. Wellesley's next objective was the hill fort of Gawilgarh, Raghaji's principal stronghold, situated in a range of mountains between the sources of the Purna and the Tapti. The fort was a very strong one and the garrison had been reinforced by the fugitives from Argaon. But their previous defeats had cowed the Mahrattas and

they made but a half-hearted resistance to Colonel Stevenson's determined assault. The slaughter, when the besiegers broke in, was very great, and large numbers were cut down while attempting to escape.

The fall of Gawilgarh decided Raghaji to make peace at once before he was utterly ruined; and on the 17th December, two days after the fall of Gawilgarh, he signed a treaty at Deogaon, by which he agreed to receive a resident at Nagpur, to enter into no relations with other states, to admit no foreigners into his service without the consent of the British, and to cede a large part of his territory, including the greater part of Orissa, to them. Daulat Rao Sindhia, thus left alone, with no means of continuing the struggle, was forced to accept such terms as the British would offer him; and a little later signed a treaty at Burhanpur, by the terms of which he agreed to receive a resident at his court, ceded to the British all his possessions north of the Jumna and the districts of Ahmadnagar and Broach in the south, and renounced his claims to interfere in the affairs of his neighbours.

Results of the war.—The result of this war greatly increased the power and prestige of the British. Most of the Rajput chiefs hastened to enter into treaty with them, and British influence became paramount over all India, with the exception of the Punjab, where the Sikhs had now firmly established their supremacy. The Moghul Emperor returned once more to British protection, and the whole of his dominions were brought under the Company's rule. It would have been well for Shah Alam had he never left it; for Mahratta friendship had not been able to prevent his falling on one occasion into the hands of a cruel and bloodthirsty Afghan noble, named Ghulam Kadir, who, after torturing his sons and grandsons before his face, struck out both the old man's eyes with a dagger.

Disorder in Oudh.—The Governor-General, like his predecessors, was troubled with the affairs of Oudh. Saadat Ali, whom Sir John Shore had placed upon the throne, proved no better than the Nawab whom he had displaced, and by continued mismanagement had become

so hopelessly involved in debt that he was unable any longer to pay for the maintenance of his subsidiary force. The Marquis, finding remonstrance useless, and being determined to prevent the disorders of the kingdom of Oudh from endangering the peace of Northern India, compelled the Nawab to cede certain districts for the support of the force. These districts, together with the remnants of the Moghul Empire, comprised the whole of what is now called the United Provinces.

Holkar provokes the British.—It may seem strange that Jaswant Rao Holkar should have taken no part in the second Mahratta war. Indeed nothing but his hatred of Sindhia and his desire to see his rival humbled had kept him from plunging at once into the struggle. But he was of so wild and turbulent a disposition that he could not long remain inactive; moreover, some employment had to be found for the hosts of restless freebooters who kept flocking to Indore during those troublous times. Beside this rabble horde, ever ready for mischief, he had a numerous and well-equipped army, which was continually being swelled by batches of deserters from the armies of Sindhia and Raghujī Bhonsla. By the end of the second Mahratta war he had at his command an army of 80,000 trained soldiers, the pick of the fighting men of Malwa and Central India. It was not long before he began to ravage Malwa and Rajputana, and, ignoring remonstrances, raided the territory of Rajput princes who were allies of the British. Growing daily more insolent he at length sacked Ajmir, and made peremptory demands for the cession of territory from the British. War was therefore declared upon him, and the British forces put in motion against him in April, 1804.

The third Mahratta War, 1804-1805.—Thus commenced the third Mahratta war. General, now Lord, Lake was still available, but Sir Arthur Wellesley had left for England early in the spring. The campaign opened brilliantly with the capture of Indore; but soon after Colonel Monson, by a rash advance into Central India, found himself opposed to nearly the whole of Holkar's army. In fear of being overwhelmed he thereupon retreated with equal precipitancy to Agra, abandoning most of his guns and

baggage on the way. Such a reverse to British arms had not occurred since the Bombay army had been surrounded and forced to capitulate at Wargaon in 1778. Holkar, greatly elated at his success, first seized Muttra and then attacked Delhi; but he was repulsed at the latter place with such heavy loss by Colonel Ochterlony that he retired to Bhurtpur, the Rajah of which place, though an ally of the British, had espoused his cause. Monson, joined by General Fraser, now made a fresh advance, and coming up with Holkar's and the Rajah's combined forces at Dig utterly defeated them and captured all their guns. Lake meanwhile was carrying on his campaign with his usual brilliancy and success, and had soon captured Holkar's principal forts.

Siege of Bhurtpur.—Holkar's power was now practically broken and the end of the war seemed to be in sight; but in January, 1805, Lake received a serious check at Bhurtpur. This huge fort, surrounded with a mud wall, was one of the strongest in India; but Lake, grown over-confident, attacked it recklessly and tried to capture it by assault. Four times his gallant troops made the attempt, and were each time repulsed with heavy loss. He then found himself obliged to besiege it, and for this he had made no proper preparation. By great good fortune, after a siege of three and a half months, at the end of which the British were no nearer capturing it than at the beginning, the Rajah of Bhurtpur, grown tired of the defence, opened negotiations with Lake. On condition of the British relinquishing the siege he agreed to pay twenty lakhs of rupees and to renounce his alliance with Holkar. But the failure to reduce Bhurtpur left a bad impression, and, though the balance of success was greatly in their favour, the military reputation of the British did not stand quite so high towards the close of the war as it had done at the beginning. The war had, however, clearly established the fact that it was useless to struggle against British supremacy; and the Gaekwar of Baroda, when called upon to enter into a subsidiary alliance, did not dare to demur. Thus all the Mahratta chiefs, excepting the ruined Holkar, who was still in arms, had now been brought under the subsidiary system.

Resignation of the Governor-General.—The Marquis Wellesley had for some time been contemplating retirement; for the Court of Directors did not share his Imperial views and had grown more and more impatient of the expenses of his great campaigns. Moreover the Governor-General's policy was at variance with that of his employers in another matter. He was anxious for the free and unrestricted development of Indian trade, while the Company was only anxious to keep the trade as much as possible to itself; and his letters urging upon the Directors the advantage to India of throwing open the trade to all comers gave great offence. He was a proud man as well as a determined one, and when he found that he had forfeited their confidence he resigned, and in August, 1805, while the third Mahratta war was still in progress, left the country.

His Imperial policy.—The Governor-Governorship of the Marquis Wellesley is memorable, not only for the destruction of the aggressive Muhammadan kingdom in the south, the crippling of the Mahratta power, the rooting out of antagonistic French influence, and the addition of a large amount of territory to the Company's dominions, but because the East India Company was made by his masterful hand to stand forth openly at last as a great Imperial power, and forced to accept its responsibilities as such for the peace and welfare of India. The policy which he then laid down has come to be regarded as the only possible one for British rule in India, and its success is an enduring monument to his statesmanship and sagacity.

Return of Lord Cornwallis, 1805.—He was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who, though now very old and feeble, had been induced to take up the post of Governor-General once more. He came out strongly biased against the policy of the Marquis Wellesley, and with the declared intention of reverting to the old idea of a balance of power. He had in England denounced the Mahratta wars and condemned the treaty of Bassein which led to them, and he was now determined that peace should be restored at any cost. So set upon his purpose was he that he turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances and would not even listen to Lord Lake. Shortly after his landing he left Calcutta for the seat of war to conduct the peace negotiations in

person. But the fatigues of the journey, undertaken at the most trying season of the year, proved too much for the old man, and he was soon seriously ill. By the time he reached Ghazipur he was a dying man, and there a few days later he expired, on October 5th, 1805. It was fortunate for his country and for his own high reputation that he did not live to carry out his purpose; for by undoing all the work of his predecessor he would undoubtedly have encouraged the Mahrattas to try conclusions with the British again. But in that case the blame would have lain rather with those who had sent him out at a time of life when he was no longer fit for work, than with the upright and spirited old soldier.

Sir George Barlow, 1805-1807.—Sir George Barlow, the senior member of Council, was appointed to succeed him. He also was a firm believer in the policy of non-interference, though he was not prepared to go to the length of undoing all that Wellesley had done. But in spite of Lord Lake's remonstrances, and of the fact that Holkar had been driven away into the Punjab and was at the mercy of the British, he insisted upon concluding peace with him at once upon the easiest terms; and then in order to conciliate Sindhia, who had begun to be troublesome again, he handed over to him the strong fortresses of Gohud and Gwalior. What was far worse, on the plea that the British had no business to interfere in the affairs of the native states, he broke the engagements made by Wellesley with the Rajput chiefs, and abandoned them to the vengeance of the resentful Holkar and Sindhia.

The Vellore Mutiny.—During Sir George Barlow's administration a significant incident took place at Vellore in Southern India. The Madras Sepoys stationed there mutinied and massacred 113 European soldiers garrisoned with them. The causes which led to the outbreak were curiously similar in some respects to those which led to the great mutiny of 1857. The Sepoys were led to believe by disaffected persons that certain changes which were being made in their uniform were designed to take away their caste and turn them into Christians. The mutiny was quickly suppressed; but it showed, though the lesson was unfortunately not taken to heart, how extremely credulous the

masses of India were, and how easily they could be excited to savage and fanatical outbursts. Tippu's family, which, it may be remembered, had been removed to Vellore, had taken advantage of its freedom from restraint and the liberality with which its members had been treated to corrupt the Sepoys and spread sedition. It was in consequence of the outbreak removed to Bengal, in order that it might be more closely watched.

Sir George Barlow superseded.—Sir George Barlow was superseded in 1807 and sent as Governor to Madras. His two years of office had proved his unfitness for so high and responsible a position, and it was felt that a stronger and abler man was required.

Lord Minto, 1807-1813.—Lord Minto, the President of the Board of Control, was selected as his successor. It was his task to restore the credit of the British name which had been tarnished by the feeble policy of his predecessor, and to consolidate the conquests of the Marquis Wellesley. The lawless state into which Central India was sinking, owing to the return to the non-interference policy, was causing grave anxiety, and the first matter to engage the new Governor-General's attention was connected with it. Holkar and Sindhia, though they had subjected the peoples of Malwa to every sort of oppression and misrule, had once been strong enough to maintain some sort of order in their dominions, and to keep in partial check the lawlessness and violence of robber chiefs. But when their power was broken by the British, Western and Central India sank into such a state of anarchy, that the people were left to defend themselves as best they could against the marauding bands that sprang up in every direction and infested the land. Whole tracts of fertile country, from which the peaceful and industrious peasantry had been driven by the depredations of these bandits, went out of cultivation, and many of those who had been plundered of all they possessed, turned robbers to make a living.

Pacification of Bundelkhand.—Lord Minto could not interfere in the affairs of the native states because he had been expressly forbidden by the Board of Control to do so. He was therefore forced to remain a passive spectator while all sorts of barbarities were committed.

But the lawlessness of Bundelkhand was a direct menace to adjoining British territory, calling for prompt action, and he felt justified in taking upon himself the responsibility of sending a force against its turbulent chiefs. The campaign lasted from 1807 till 1812, and much hard fighting in difficult country occurred ; but in the end, after the strong hill fort of Kalanjar had been taken, they were forced to submit, and the country was pacified.

Treaty with Ranjit Singh.—In the second year of Lord Minto's administration the British Government, for the first time, came into touch with the Sikhs. The chiefs of the districts between the Sutlej and the Jumna, known as the Cis-Sutlej Sirdars, appealed to the British for protection against Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the powerful and ambitious ruler of Lahore. Charles Metcalfe, a young man of 26, was sent by Lord Minto as British envoy to Lahore to try and settle matters ; and so well did he succeed that Ranjit Singh signed a treaty engaging to abstain from interference with the Sirdars of the Cis-Sutlej states.

Embassies to Sind, Kabul, and Persia.—England was again at war with France, and the possibility of the revival of French influence caused much anxiety in India. Trouble had already occurred at Travancore owing to French intrigues ; and it was feared that the hostile French influence which it was known was being exerted in Sind, Kabul, and Persia, might endanger the peace of India. Negotiations were therefore opened with the Amirs of Sind and ambassadors sent to Kabul and Persia. All three enterprises were successful. The Amirs of Sind readily agreed to exclude the French ; Mountstuart Elphinstone, the envoy to Kabul, succeeded in getting the ruler of Afghanistan to sign a treaty that he would not have any dealings with any other European power than the British ; and Sir John Malcolm persuaded the Shah of Persia to bind himself not to allow the passage of European troops through his dominions to India.

French and Dutch piracy put down.—But Lord Minto was not yet satisfied ; for so long as the French could use Mauritius as a base of hostilities there could be no security for peace. The Dutch, who were then in alliance with the French, were also proving troublesome in

eastern seas. French and Dutch cruisers lay in wait for British merchant ships, and did great damage to the East India Company's trade. In 1809 Lord Minto organised an expedition, and sent it first against Mauritius and the adjacent French islands. They were speedily captured and annexed; though Mauritius only was afterwards permanently retained. The Dutch colonies were next attacked, and all were taken, including the magnificent island of Java, though this was afterwards restored. Before the expedition returned it had brilliantly accomplished its task, having stripped the French and Dutch of all their colonies in the East Indies, and cleared the seas of their armed cruisers.

Retirement of Lord Minto.—Lord Minto left India in 1813. He had successfully performed the difficult duty entrusted to him; for he had succeeded in keeping free from any entanglements with native states without loss of prestige, and had waged no serious wars. By peaceful means for the most part he had done his work of consolidation, had widened the sphere of British influence, and worthily upheld his country's name.

Abolition of the Company's monopoly in Indian trade.—In the same year, the period of twenty years for which the Company's charter had been last renewed expired, and it became necessary for the Directors to obtain from Parliament a further extension. The East India Company, as we have seen, had long ceased to be a mere trading corporation, and had become a great territorial sovereign responsible for the lives and happiness of millions of human beings. The opinion had for some time been steadily gaining ground in England that its interests as a trading corporation were often opposed to its duties as a ruler, and that its tremendous responsibilities in the latter capacity required that it should confine itself more exclusively to its governing functions. When, therefore, the question of the renewal of its charter for another twenty years came before Parliament great stress was laid upon this point, and after a heated discussion it was decided, in spite of the most strenuous opposition on the part of the Company's supporters, that its monopoly of Indian trade should be abolished. Thus, what Wellesley had pleaded for in vain was now accom-

plished, and the trade of India was at last thrown open to all comers without restriction.

Lord Moira (the Marquis of Hastings), 1813-1823.

—The Earl of Moira, who was appointed to succeed Lord Minto, was a man already distinguished as a statesman and a soldier. It has been the good fortune of England to obtain, with scarcely an exception, men of the highest character and ability to fill the post of Governor-General of India ; but none have deserved better of their country than this great nobleman, who may be said to have completed the work begun by Clive, and to have accomplished the making of the Indian Empire. He was fifty-nine years of age when, in October, 1813, he landed in Calcutta ; yet he held the reins of government for nine years through a critical period, and up to the last continued to discharge his duties with unflagging zeal and uniform success.

The Nepal War, 1814-1816.—The conduct of the Gurkhas of Nepal had lately been giving cause for uneasiness ; and the first question that confronted him was the settlement of a dispute which had arisen between the British Government and this aggressive and truculent little people. The Gurkhas, the ruling race in Nepal, were Hindu immigrants, who less than fifty years before had overrun the country and subdued the indigenous Indo-Thibetan people. They had since gradually been adding by conquest neighbouring Indian districts to their possessions, till at last, emboldened by success, they seized Butwal and Sheoraj in the northern part of Oudh, belonging to the British. When called upon to give them up they refused, and shortly after committed an act of war by putting to death eighteen British police officers taken in Butwal. Lord Moira himself directed the plan of campaign, and despatched against them four divisions starting from different points. It was a difficult undertaking, and in view of the condition of India a critical one too. The great Mahratta chiefs were watching with close attention, and the news of a severe reverse might set all India in a blaze of revolt.

The southern frontier of Nepal stretched 600 miles, and the mountainous nature of the country made the advance slow and difficult. The Gurkhas were an enterprising enemy with a natural aptitude for war. The British

troops, both native and European, being accustomed to win brilliant victories against enormous odds, made at first the mistake of despising them. But when they met with stubborn resistance and failed to carry all before them, their recklessness gave place to despondency. The Gurkhas were proportionately elated as their foes were depressed; and though the hill fort of Kalunga was taken and General Ochterlony in the west had stormed and captured all the Gurkha posts in that direction, the outlook on the whole was not encouraging. The other divisions had meanwhile made little or no progress, General Gillespie had been killed in a repulse, and there had been too many mishaps and small reverses.

Treaty of Sagauli.—But the skill and courage of General Ochterlony eventually saved the situation. In May, 1815, he captured a principal Gurkha stronghold named Malaon, and thereby forced the Gurkhas to evacuate the district of Garhwal. Early the next year, marching straight from Behar upon Katmandu, the capital, he got almost within striking distance of it, before the main army of the Gurkhas, which was guarding the regular route to it, could intercept him. Thereupon, the Gurkhas, finding their capital threatened, lost heart, and opened negotiations for peace. In March, 1816, a treaty was concluded at Sagauli, by which the Gurkhas agreed to receive a British resident at Katmandu, to give back the places they had wrongfully seized, to cede the districts lying to the west of the Gogra, and to withdraw from Sikkim on the east. The Gurkhas have never since given trouble, and have faithfully observed the terms of the treaty. For his successful conduct of the war Lord Moira was created Marquis of Hastings.

Impending trouble in Central India.—The Governor-General had next to turn his attention to affairs in Central India. The Peshwa, Sindhia, and the Mahratta chiefs in general, though much disappointed at the issue of the Nepal War, had not yet given up all hope of crushing the British, and were evidently waiting for a favourable opportunity to try conclusions with them once more. But besides the fear of a combination of Mahratta chiefs a new danger had arisen in Central India, and was

rapidly assuming formidable proportions. To understand clearly what this danger was and how it had arisen, a short digression will be necessary.

Unsettled state of Malwa.—When the Moghul Empire began to decay, one of the first provinces to be overrun by the Mahrattas was Malwa. After overthrowing the government and plundering the country from end to end, they contented themselves with levying *chauth* from it, and so long as this was paid troubled themselves but little with its affairs. It soon fell, for want of a strong central authority, into a state of anarchy, and robbery and violence of all sorts went on unchecked. Sindhia and Holkar, when they subsequently divided the country between them, being mere military chiefs, organised no proper government, so that their dominions were always more or less in a state of unruliness. When the British began to restore order in India, Malwa became the refuge of all the restless spirits and bad characters of Western and Central India; added to which the Bhils, the indigenous non-Aryan peoples scattered up and down the country, were by nature a predatory folk. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the country simply swarmed with desperadoes, freebooters, mercenary bandits, and thieves of all sorts.

The Pindaris.—When Lord Moira came to India the Pindaris, as these lawless bands of robbers were called, had become so numerous and so enterprising in their plundering expeditions that no part of Western and Central India was safe from them. They were always ready to hire themselves out for a promise of plunder to any chief who required their help, and Sindhia and Holkar especially, who derived great assistance from them in their constant wars, sheltered them, and even assigned grants of land to some of them. They were men of no particular nationality, nor even of the same religion; their only bond, in fact, was their common profession of robbery. The most redoubtable leaders among them were Amir Khan, Karim Khan, and Chitu, a Jat. They could on occasion put into the field an army of 60,000 horsemen, and they possessed several batteries of guns. They were the most cruel and callous ruffians imaginable, and in pursuit of plunder would not

stop at any atrocity, but mutilated and murdered men, women and children indiscriminately.

Fourth Mahratta War, 1817-1819.—The immediate cause of their coming into conflict with the British was a raid which they made in 1816 into the Northern Circars, during which they destroyed no less than 339 villages. The Governor-General determined at once to put them down, and, as he knew that they were receiving the secret support of the Mahratta chiefs, he made his preparations on the largest scale. It was well that he did so, for hardly were they completed when, in November, 1817, the Peshwa, Baji Rao, openly took their part and attacked the British Residency at Poona. Mr. Elphinstone, the Resident, retired with the British subsidiary force, numbering 2800 men, to Kirki. The Peshwa, after plundering the Residency, attacked him with a force more than ten times as numerous, but was gallantly repulsed, and withdrew. Meanwhile the Bhonsla made a similar attack upon the British Residency at Nagpur; but by the steadfastness and courage of the native sepoys under Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, he was heavily repulsed at the hill of Sitabaldi close by, despite the enormous preponderance of his forces. Holkar also was moving out against the British.

Sindhia made to stand aloof.—The Governor-General's worst fears seemed likely to be realised. It looked as if the British would have upon their hands not only a Pindari war, but another Mahratta war as well. Assuming himself the post of commander-in-chief, the Marquis of Hastings marched rapidly on Gwalior at the head of a large force, and arrived just in time to prevent Sindhia, who was growing restless, from plunging into the war. This prompt action so disconcerted Sindhia that he gave up all idea of joining in the fray, and even signed a treaty promising to help the British in restoring order and stamping out the Pindaris.

The Battle of Ashti.—While these events were taking place other British forces were advancing from different directions, it being the Marquis's plan to surround the Pindaris on all sides. The Peshwa had soon good cause to regret his rashness, for he was driven out of Poona and forced to fly. Satara was next occupied by the British; and

of the dominions of the descendants of Sivaji all but a small portion, which was reserved for the maintenance of the Rajah, was annexed. Baji Rao was pursued towards the Carnatic; and at Ashti, near Sholapur, where his troops made a last desperate stand, while he was devising means for his own safety, he was finally and decisively beaten in 1818. After wandering about in great distress, seeking vainly for assistance, he surrendered at last to Sir John Malcolm. His territory was forthwith annexed, and he himself was sent to reside at Bithur, near Cawnpore, as a state prisoner. Thus ended ingloriously the great house of the Peshwa.

The battles of Nagpur and Mehidpur.—The Bhonsla ruler at Nagpur after his defeat at Sitabaldi tamely submitted, but as he was found still to be intriguing against the British, a grandson of the late Raghiji Bhonsla was placed upon the throne in his stead, but with such greatly curtailed powers that Nagpur fell thereafter almost wholly under British control.

Jaswant Rao Holkar had died raving mad some years before the occurrence of these events, leaving his throne to an illegitimate son named Mulhar Rao. As the latter was a minor the state was being administered for him by a regency; but, owing to the turbulence of the nobles and the mutinous condition of the army, it had been for some time in a chronic state of disorder. When the Pindari war broke out the army became uncontrollable and forced the State Council to join in the attack upon the British. In 1817 the whole army, numbering some 20,000 men, marched out to Mehidpur, on the left bank of the Chambal, and there encamped against the British. Sir John Hislop and Sir John Malcolm, who were in the neighbourhood with a strong force, boldly crossed the river and attacked it. The Mahrattas fought gallantly, but in spite of a stubborn resistance the camp was brilliantly stormed, and they were driven out and forced to fly in all directions. A fortnight later the young Mulhar Rao capitulated and placed himself in the hands of the British.

The Pindaris exterminated.—Meanwhile the Pindaris were being summarily dealt with. Amir Khan, the

most powerful of them, soon came to terms and disbanded his army, on condition that he should be allowed to retain the small principality of Tonk in Rajputana. Karim Khan surrendered unconditionally in 1818 to Sir John Malcolm. Chitu, the cruellest and most remorseless of them all, after being defeated was driven from place to place, till at last, being deserted by his followers, he fled alone to the jungle, and there came to a fitting end being killed and eaten by a tiger. The Pindari bands were speedily broken up, and the robbers hunted down and killed like wild beasts.

Restoration of peace and order.—The whole of these campaigns lasted only four months, yet in that short time the question of British supremacy had been finally settled and the country freed from lawlessness and violence. In the words of the Governor-General, “multitudes of people had been enabled to return from the hills and fastnesses, in which they had sought refuge for years, and had reoccupied their ancient deserted villages. The ploughshare was again in every quarter turning up soil which for many seasons had never been stirred, except by the hoofs of predatory cavalry.” The Rajput chiefs, who had been so basely deserted by Sir George Barlow, were now compensated by assignments of land and taken again under British protection. But to prevent disorder Ajmir, as being central, was taken over by the British Government, and Rajputana as a whole placed under the supervision of British officers.

Resignation of the Governor-General.—The remainder of the Marquis's term of office was not eventful. Much of his time was taken up in questions of law reform and the improvement of the Civil Service. He was a most enlightened ruler; for he did much to encourage education by the opening of schools, and permitted the issue of a vernacular newspaper, the first of its kind in India. He proved himself as successful in finance as he had been a skilful commander in the field. Notwithstanding his great wars he was able to show an annual surplus of two millions sterling. Yet he did not escape censure. The acquisition of so much new territory displeased the selfish and short-sighted Directors, and they disapproved

of his schemes for ameliorating the condition of the people by the spread of education, and his encouragement of a free press. At length, like Lord Wellesley, growing disgusted, he resigned, and in January, 1823, left for England.

Lord Amherst, 1823-1828.—His successor, Lord Amherst, did not arrive till six months afterwards, and Mr. Adams, a Civil Servant, officiated in the interval. It seemed as if now at last the period of great wars was over, and a time of peaceful development had set in. But Lord Amherst had hardly taken office when the arrogance of the Burmese forced him to undertake a costly war against them. Some years before, the king of Burmah had made an impudent demand for the session of Chittagong, Dacca and Murshabad on the ground that they belonged to the old kingdom of Arakan, which had been absorbed into the Burmese Empire in times long past. No notice was taken of the demand, and there the matter was thought to have ended. But the Burmese had lately become aggressively insolent, had raided British territory and carried off British subjects. When called upon for redress their only answer was to commit fresh outrages; so that there was no other course than to declare war upon them.

The first Burmese War, 1824-1826.—In May, 1824, Sir Archibald Campbell, in command of a strong British force, entered the Irrawady and anchored off Rangoon. The Burmese now quickly realised what was the power of the enemy they had so lightly provoked. After offering a feeble resistance to the landing of the British they fled precipitately and left the town a solitude. At Kenden-din, where they had constructed strong stockades, they attempted to make a stand; but when the guns came into action, the shot and shell hailing upon them struck such terror into them, that they fled again in confusion. But as they retreated they took care to remove all supplies they could, and to lay waste the country; so that the British, who had not brought large stores of food with them, were soon in great straits for provisions. To add to the misery of the situation, the rainy season set in and the country was soon deluged. Malarial fever then made its appearance, and committed such fearful ravages in the British

force that at length there were not left 3000 men fit for duty. In these depressing circumstances the British were called upon to repel a desperate attack by a largely reinforced enemy. The artillery again did great service and the Burmese, unable to face it, were repulsed at all points. After this the British were left unmolested for two months, and employed the time in subduing the country behind them and along the coast.

The treaty of Yendabu.—When the rainy season ceased, a large force, consisting of the flower of the Burmese army under a redoubtable leader, was despatched against them by the King of Ava. But it had no better success than its predecessors, and by the middle of December it had been dispersed and its leader killed. The British now again assumed the offensive ; and while Sir A. Campbell pushed on to Prome, another force was sent on to Arakan. A second rainy season had to be endured before a further advance could be made, but the time was well employed in expelling the Burmese from Assam and Arakan. As soon as the cold weather set in the Burmese again advanced in great force, and attacked Sir A. Campbell at Prome. After a couple of months' continuous fighting, in which no considerable advantage was gained by either side, the British made a determined attack and drove the Burmese in great confusion from all their positions. Some fruitless negotiations with the King of Ava then followed ; but as it was clear that the Burmese were merely trying to gain time, they were broken off, and the British continued their advance. At Pagahn the Burmese made another stand, but were driven off with great slaughter. At length, in February, 1826, when the British had got within four days' march of Ava, the king, recognising the hopelessness of further resistance, sued for peace. The chief conditions upon which it was granted were that Arakan, Tenasserim, and certain of the lower provinces, should be ceded to the British, and that the King of Burmah should renounce all claims to Assam, and pay an indemnity for the war of a crore of rupees. The agreement is known as the treaty of Yendaboo, after the place where it was signed.

Important result of the war.—Thus, after an arduous campaign lasting nearly two years, the war was

brought to a successful conclusion. The most interesting, and indeed the most important consequence of the war, was that the barrier which for so many hundreds of years had arrested the eastward progress of Aryan civilisation was at length broken down ; and under the protection of the British Government immigration began at once to flow from Hindustan into adjoining Burmese territory.

The taking of Bhurtpur.—Before the Burmese war had reached its end Lord Amherst found himself involved in a dispute over the succession to the vacant throne of the Jat state, Bhurtpur. He had declined to be guided by the advice of Sir David Ochterlony, then agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, who strongly urged him to intervene, and that fine old soldier had in consequence resigned. But intervention soon became imperative, and he had to send a force under Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, against the celebrated mud fort overlooking the city. Artillery could make no impression on its massive walls ; but at last, on January 18th, 1826, a breach was made by the explosion of a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of gunpowder, and the fort, which had baffled Lake and had come to be regarded as impregnable, was gallantly stormed and captured. The taking of Bhurtpur was convincing proof to all of the invincibility of the British, and their supremacy was recognised throughout India as an accomplished fact.

The Company's supremacy proclaimed.—After this event it was not thought expedient any longer to maintain the fiction that the pensioned Moghul ruler of Delhi was still the Emperor of Hindustan ; and Lord Amherst went to Delhi and announced that henceforward the Company was to be treated as the paramount power in India.

Only one other fact is noteworthy in connection with Lord Amherst's administration, and that is that Simla was in his time first occupied as a summer residence for the Governor-General. Lord Amherst left India in March, 1828. During the four months that elapsed before Lord William Bentinck, his successor, arrived, Mr. Butterworth Bayley acted as Governor-General.

Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835.—Lord William Bentinck had been Governor of Madras about the beginning of the century, but had been unjustly recalled on account of

the Vellore Mutiny. He had now an opportunity of showing how false had been the estimate then formed of his capacity, and he may be said to have more than justified his selection for the highest appointment in India. Lord William Bentinck's seven years of office are noteworthy for the many important reforms which were introduced during it. But he did not escape altogether from the necessity of making war.

Annexation of Coorg.—The ruler of the little state of Coorg in Southern India was in his small way as great a tyrant as any known to history. He put to death every male member of his royal house, committed every vice and crime, and shamefully misgoverned his people. When remonstrated with by the British Government he madly defied it. A force was therefore sent to depose him; and after a state of war which lasted ten days he was taken prisoner and sent a captive to Benares. As he had put to death all possible claimants to the throne, and as the people of Coorg expressed a strong desire to come under British rule, his state was annexed.

Financial reforms.—One of the first subjects to engage Lord William Bentinck's attention was finance. The condition of the finances was beginning to cause serious uneasiness; for the cost of the Burmese war had been very great, and the annual expenditure on administration had outrun the annual income. It was necessary to make extensive reductions if the Company's government were to be kept solvent. Committees were appointed to inquire into civil and military charges, and as a result the permanent expenditure on the services was considerably cut down. This method of effecting economies was naturally regarded with great disfavour by the European officers whose emoluments were curtailed thereby, and the reduction of the allowance given to troops on active service particularly aroused resentment. Besides reducing expenditure the Governor-General created new sources of revenue; a duty was levied on Malwa opium, and lands which by oversight had escaped assessment, or had been too lightly assessed, were made to yield their fair share of revenue. Whatever hostility his financial policy may have aroused at the time, it came to be admitted, even before he left India, that he had saved the country from a

grave financial crisis and had enabled the revenues to meet all normal charges of government.

Judicial reforms.—He next turned his attention to judicial reform. The pressure of work upon the European officers of the department had become so heavy that arrears had accumulated in nearly every district. To increase the number of European officers was out of the question, on the ground of expense. Lord William Bentinck solved the difficulty by appointing Indians to many of the posts hitherto held by Europeans and by increasing generally the number of native judicial officers. To lighten the work of the Calcutta Court of Appeal, which had grown exceedingly heavy, he created a Court of Appeal for Upper India at Allahabad; and finally, to facilitate justice, in place of Persian, which had been the court language since the establishment of the Moghul Empire, he substituted the Vernaculars in all courts.

Sati prohibited.—But the reform with which his name is most commonly associated was the abolition of *Sati*. From very early times there had existed a belief in Northern India that it was a noble act for a widow to burn herself on the pyre of her dead husband. Though not essentially a part of the Hindu religion, this barbarous rite had come to be looked upon with reverential awe. In Bengal particularly the practice was very prevalent, no less than 287 being known to have occurred in the Calcutta division alone in the year previous to its suppression. In spite of the most strenuous opposition and even of threats of revolt, the Governor-General, having fully weighed the arguments on both sides and considered the possible consequences of an interference in the religious rites of the people, decided that this brutal and inhuman custom should at any cost be put a stop to. In December, 1829, a Government resolution was passed making it a penal offence to aid or abet a *Sati*, and authorising the police to interfere to prevent its performance. His courage and humanity were rewarded by the almost immediate and complete suppression of the practice.

Suppression of inhuman rites and Thugi.—But he did not rest satisfied with having saved Hindu widows from a dreadful fate. Proceeding on the assumption that

it was not right for an enlightened Government to tolerate the shedding of innocent blood, he took measures to prevent the killing of infant daughters, so prevalent among the Rajputs, and the performance of human sacrifices among the wild non-Aryan tribes. Then his attention was called to the existence of a sect of secret murderers and robbers in Central India, called Thugs. In the annals of crime there is nothing more wild and gruesome than Thugi. It is not easy to conceive of a more despicable gang of miscreants than the Pindaris, yet the Thugs were far worse. The Pindari was a professional robber, not averse from murder in pursuit of plunder; but to the Thug murder was as much part of his business as robbery. These vile wretches, having decoyed their victims, strangled them by throwing a handkerchief or noose round their necks, and then robbed and hid the bodies in the ground, counting every such murder a propitiation of the savage goddess, Kali, whom they worshipped. That such an association could have sprung into existence and flourished, and that such atrocious crimes should have been committed in the name of religion, are sufficient evidence of the state of depravity into which long-continued anarchy and misrule had reduced Central India. To Major, afterwards Sir William Sleeman was deputed the task of exterminating these inhuman ruffians; and so well did he perform it that before Lord William Bentinck left India fifteen hundred and sixty-two Thugs had been brought to justice, and the gangs practically broken up.

Renewal of the charter.—In the year 1833 the question of renewing the Company's charter came before Parliament again. Public opinion was now more than ever opposed to the Company's continuing to engage in trade; and a parliamentary committee, appointed to enquire into the subject, strongly recommended that the Company should be required to confine itself to the business of administering its vast dominions. The charter was accordingly only renewed on this condition; but the shareholders of the Company were guaranteed by Parliament against loss. The new charter was a great gain to India; for under it the Government was freed from the necessity of viewing questions from a commercial as well as a

political point of view, and was able to devote its whole attention to the task of administering its Indian Empire. The Company became, in fact, from now a great Imperial ruler, looking solely to the welfare of those committed to its charge.

English education.—During the last two years of Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship a controversy was raised regarding the best medium for imparting education to the people. Mr. Macaulay, afterwards Lord Macaulay, the legal member of Council, lent the whole weight of his great influence in support of English as opposed to the Oriental classics or the Vernaculars. The Governor-General, after carefully considering the opinions expressed by all parties, decided in favour of English, and issued a resolution that the funds appropriated to education should be employed in imparting a knowledge of Western literature and science through the medium of the English language.

One other measure connected with the Governor-General's term of office is important. This was the conversion of the United Provinces into a separate presidency with Sir Charles Metcalfe as its first Lieutenant-Governor.

Lord William's benevolent rule.—Lord William Bentinck left India in May, 1835, amid general expressions of regret. Among the natives particularly his memory was long cherished with affection and respect; and even his countrymen who had suffered not a little by his reforms, joined in honouring the departing Governor as one who had done great good to India. His peaceful and benign administration went a long way towards persuading the natives of India that their foreign rulers had the welfare of their subjects at heart. His admission of Indians in large numbers into the public services and their appointment to more responsible posts were convincing proofs of the confidence and good faith of the British Government; and the greater security to life and property, which had resulted from his efforts to put down robbery and violence tended greatly to reconcile them to a foreign domination.

Liberation of the Press.—It was hoped that Sir Charles Metcalfe, who held charge of the office for one year after the Governor-General's departure, would be appointed

his successor, but the Government in England in the end decided to send out Lord Auckland. During his officiating term of office Sir Charles Metcalfe, supported by Macaulay, removed all restrictions on the liberty of the Press, a measure which Lord William Bentinck had long been contemplating ; but the Board of Control so strongly expressed its disapproval of what it considered a premature innovation, that Sir Charles Metcalfe, after handing over the charge to Lord Auckland, found it necessary to resign the service and retire.

Lord Auckland, 1836-1842.—Lord Auckland's administration marks an epoch in British Indian history. With the pacification of the country, and the extension of the Company's dominions, questions of foreign policy had begun to attract attention. While the British were gradually acquiring fresh territory, and getting nearer and nearer to the north-west frontier of India, Russia was rapidly absorbing the petty kingdoms of Central Asia into her vast empire, and reaching out in a southerly direction towards India. Prior to the coming of the English every invasion of India known to history had come from the north west. In that corner alone is it possible to break through the chain of mountains which protects India on the north. Previous to Lord Auckland's time, beyond sending embassies of a friendly nature to the ruler of Afghanistan, the British had taken no interest in affairs beyond the frontier. The presence of so powerful a ruler as Ranjit Singh at Lahore with his magnificent Sikh army, burning with a traditional hatred of the Afghans as oppressors of their forefathers, was a sufficient guarantee that no descendant of the Abdali would be able to repeat his devastating invasions.

Troubled state of Afghanistan.—During Lord William Bentinck's term of office, Shah Shuja, the reigning monarch of the Abdali dynasty, as the result of a successful revolution against him headed by a chief named Dost Muhammad, had been driven out of Afghanistan to seek refuge in India under the shelter of the friendly British Government. Dost Muhammad was only able to establish his authority over the districts of Kabul and Ghazni ; for Herat remained faithful to the house of the Abdali, Balk was annexed by the ruler of Bokhara and

Peshawar, and the Indus districts were seized upon by Ranjit Singh. The Shah of Persia, noting the troubled state of the country, thought an opportunity had arrived for repeating the conquests of Nadir Shah, and as a preliminary step attacked Herat. In his attempt to subjugate Afghanistan he was found to be receiving encouragement from Russia, who hoped by fomenting trouble to find later on an excuse for interfering to her own advantage.

Lord Auckland supports Shah Shuja.—Into this turmoil Lord Auckland plunged with all the recklessness of inexperience. Some action to counteract the schemes of Russia was no doubt required, but nothing could have been more disastrous than the line of policy he pursued. He first tried to come to an agreement with Dost Muhammad, but failed, chiefly through the influence of the Russian envoy at Kabul. Though no open rupture had occurred, and though Dost Muhammad showed no hostile inclination, Lord Auckland determined that if he would not do as he wished he should be dethroned. He therefore took up the cause of Shah Shuja, and persuaded Ranjit Singh, by promising to guarantee him in the possession of the districts he had seized, to help him to replace Shah Shuja on the throne. It is fair to Lord Auckland to state that he looked upon Dost Muhammad as a usurper occupying a precarious position, and believed that the people of Afghanistan would welcome the return of their lawful sovereign.

First Afghan War, 1838-1842.—A British army escorting Shah Shuja on this hazardous enterprise marched by way of Sindh into Afghanistan in 1838. While it was on its way news arrived that the Shah of Persia had relinquished the siege of Herat, and abandoned his project of conquering Afghanistan. The intrigue of Russia was thereby frustrated, and there was no longer any urgent reason for interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan. Yet the expedition was not recalled, but continued amid great difficulties and privations to force its way into Afghanistan. In the middle of 1839 it reached Kandahar, and there Shah Shuja was solemnly enthroned; but it was noticed that the Afghans did not welcome back their lawful ruler with any enthusiasm. While the British force was resting at

Kandahar, the disquieting news arrived that their ally, Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, was dead, and that his kingdom had fallen into the utmost confusion. There was no assistance, therefore, to be expected from the Sikhs.

Shah Shuja restored to his throne.—But the British officers had their orders to restore Shah Shuja to Kabul, and, moreover, matters had gone too far now for the possibility of withdrawal. Within a month of the enthronement of Shah Shuja at Kandahar the army was on the march again. Ghazni was gallantly stormed, and Dost Muhammad driven away into the Hindu Kush. In August the British entered Kabul, and Shah Shuja was with great ceremony restored to his kingdom. A British force, much against his advice, was left to defend him; and Sir William MacNaghten remained with it as British Resident at Kabul. The subjugation of Afghanistan then really began, and much severe fighting took place before it was effected. But it became increasingly evident that the Afghans did not want Shah Shuja back, and that Dost Muhammad had very many adherents. At length, in 1840, Dost Muhammad, who had reappeared, was decisively beaten and forced to surrender. He was at once sent as a prisoner to Calcutta, and with his departure all opposition to Shah Shuja seemed to be at an end.

Evacuation of Kabul.—Lord Auckland had effected his object, but he had little reason to congratulate himself on the result; for the Afghans were in such a sullen and dangerous mood that it was necessary to maintain at great expense a military occupation of the country. In fact they were ready to rebel at any moment, and a general rising was only a question of time. The storm burst very suddenly two years later. First the Ghiljis revolted and attacked Sir Robert Sale while on his way with a body of troops to India, and forced him to take refuge in the fort of Jellalabad. The next month Sir Alexander Burnes, the political agent, was, together with his suite, murdered in Kabul. Forthwith an insurrection broke out, headed by Akbar Khan, a son of Dost Muhammad. A little later Sir William MacNaghten, who had opened negotiations with the insurgents, deceived by the apparently friendly attitude of their leader, was induced to meet them at a conference,

and during the interview was treacherously assassinated with all his staff. The officer in command of the British troops stationed at Kabul was old and timid, and could not make up his mind to do anything. The opportunity of saving the situation was lost in inactivity, and the British cantonments were soon surrounded by hordes of ferocious Afghans. The general was now thoroughly frightened, and believing that resistance was useless surrendered all his guns, and pledged his Government to pay fourteen lakhs and to restore Dost Muhammad, on condition that the British troops were given a safe escort back to India.

Retreat from Kabul.—The whole British force at Kabul, numbering 4000 combatants and 12,000 camp followers, started on the return journey to India on January 6th, 1842. Shah Shuja was almost immediately afterwards murdered, and his body thrown into a ditch. The treacherous Afghans, having the British at their mercy and burning for revenge, had no mind to let them escape. Hardly had the retreat commenced before they began to hover about them, day and night, harassing them in front and rear, cutting off stragglers, stealing their baggage animals, and ambuscading them on every possible occasion. The sufferings endured upon that disastrous march beggar description. It was the depth of winter and the snow lay thick upon the ground; added to which there was scarcely any food to be got. Three thousand perished in the Pass of Kurd Kabul alone; but the force struggled desperately on, every day losing numbers by cold, starvation, and the ceaseless attacks of the Afghans. When no longer any real hope of escape remained, the surviving women and children, and some of the married officers, gave themselves up to the enemy, and were taken back to Kabul. The remainder, with a solitary exception, perished in a vain attempt to reach Jellalabad.

Lord Auckland recalled.—The disaster was the most complete that had ever befallen the British in the East, and it was a heavy blow to their military reputation. But fortunately there were other forces in Afghanistan to uphold their credit; and two of these at any rate rendered good accounts of themselves. The gallant defence made by General Sale at Jellalabad was as creditable as the retreat

from Kabul had been humiliating. Here a small British force, behind dilapidated walls, kept at bay enormous numbers of the enemy, and sallying out, more than once inflicted severe loss upon them. General Nott, at the same time, was maintaining a stubborn defence at Kandahar. When the news of the catastrophe became known in England it created something like consternation. Lord Auckland, who had been made Earl of Auckland for restoring Shah Shuja to the throne, was now as much blamed for his aggressive policy as he had before been praised for it. He was given no opportunity for retrieving his reputation, but was at once recalled.

Lord Ellenborough, 1842-1844.—He was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, in March, 1842. The Afghan Campaign had converted a balance of £10,000,000 into a considerable deficit; but there could be no thought of peace till the treacherous Afghans had been punished, the brave defenders of Jellalabad and Kandahar relieved, and British prestige re-established. But before any steps could be taken news arrived of another reverse, scarcely less disgraceful than the retreat from Kabul, and almost equally disastrous. The British garrison at Ghazni had lost heart and evacuated the place, and had been almost annihilated in an attempt to retreat.

Jellalabad and Kandahar relieved.—Though preparations for avenging these disasters were pushed on with the utmost haste, it was not till the middle of April that the relieving army, under the command of General Pollock, forced the Khyber Pass and arrived before Jellalabad. The Afghans had worn themselves out in fruitless efforts to capture the place, and they fled at once on the approach of the relieving force. The failure to capture Jellalabad was a bitter disappointment to the Afghans, and their inability to stop the advance of the British caused a general panic. The besieging force in front of Kandahar gradually melted away, and the garrison was soon after able to relieve itself. At this stage Lord Ellenborough was for withdrawing altogether; but when the generals protested against so timid a course he yielded, taking care, however, to throw upon them the responsibility for continuing the campaign.

Kabul occupied.—Kabul was now the objective ; and while General Pollock advanced upon it from Jellalabad, General Nott, who had meanwhile been reinforced, made towards it from Kandahar. General Pollock's victorious progress did much to wipe away the disgrace of the surrenders at Kabul and Ghazni. The forts met with on the way were levelled to the ground, and the Afghans, wherever they made a stand, decisively beaten. The capture of Ghazni by General Nott and the complete destruction of its fortress was the crowning triumph of British arms. The Afghans were now everywhere in full retreat, and little further resistance was encountered. The two generals met at Kabul in September, 1842, having thoroughly restored the credit of their country and accomplished the purpose of the campaign. As a punishment for the treachery of its inhabitants the great bazaar was blown up. The pacification of Afghanistan was speedily effected after the fall of Kabul ; and by great good luck the captives taken the year before during the retreat from Kabul were recovered.

Settlement after the war.—The policy of interference in Afghan affairs had so unmistakably proved a failure that the only thing to be done was to get out of the country as soon as a satisfactory settlement of its affairs could be made. Since it was clear that the Afghans wished to have Dost Muhammad back, and that he was the only man capable of keeping order in the country, he was released and reinstated on the throne. The British then withdrew immediately, and everything was restored to what it had been before the war. Such was the end of Lord Auckland's policy of intervention ; £15,000,000 had been spent, and upwards of 20,000 lives sacrificed, in a fruitless attempt to counteract Russian influence ; the military reputation of the British had been tarnished ; and the Afghans, whose friendship it was to the interest of the Indian Government to cultivate, had been converted into bitter and implacable enemies.

Annexation of Sind.—As soon as Lord Ellenborough was free from his Afghan difficulties he had to turn his attention to the affairs of Sind. The Amirs of Sind, with whom it will be remembered Lord Minto had

made an agreement, had lately shown unmistakable signs of hostility to the British, notwithstanding that they had more than once been protected by them from their aggressive Afghan and Sikh neighbours. The Amirs were not natives of Sind, but Baluchis whose forefathers had invaded and conquered the land. They lived in castles dotted about the country, and exercised a sort of feudal sway over it. They were a turbulent set of men, fierce and treacherous, and they cruelly oppressed the conquered people. Lately their attitude had become so threatening that Lord Ellenborough despatched Sir Charles Napier in 1842 with a considerable force to Sind, giving him full powers to deal with them as occasion should demand. Early the next year the Amirs committed themselves by attacking in great force the British Residency. Sir Charles therefore moved out against them and inflicted two crushing defeats upon them, the first at Miani and the second at Hyderabad (Sind). Their power was completely broken and they had to surrender unconditionally. It was decided to send them as state prisoners to Benares, and to annex Sind to the British dominions. The decision was thought harsh ; but whether it were so or not, the Amirs were not entitled to much consideration, and the people of Sind benefited greatly by the change of rule.

Trouble in Gwalior. Hardly was the war in Sind brought to a successful conclusion before trouble occurred in Gwalior. A dispute as to who should be Regent during the minority of the young Rajah led to bloodshed and great disturbance in the state. The Gwalior army, which was out of all proportion to the needs of the state, had lately usurped all authority, and being under no proper control, had begun to assume a threatening attitude. Lord Ellenborough saw that unless he interfered promptly there was the probability of so serious an outbreak occurring that it might spread and embroil the whole of Northern India. He therefore ordered two considerable forces to march from different points on Gwalior, and himself accompanied one. The Gwalior army was not in the least dismayed at the prospect of a fight with the British, and confidently prepared to give them battle. One half faced the British at Maharajpur and the other at

Punnair. By a strange coincidence, at both places battles took place on the same day, December 29th, 1843, and at both, after hard fighting, the British gained decisive victories and captured the whole of the enemy's artillery and baggage. The last semblance of Mahratta power disappeared when the Gwalior armies were routed. The Gwalior state had now, like the rest of the Mahratta states, to submit humbly to whatever terms were imposed upon it; and Lord Ellenborough took care that they should be such as should insure a lasting peace and dependence on the British Government.

Lord Ellenborough recalled.—Two months later the Governor-General was recalled. The annexation of Sind had particularly displeased the Directors, but there were many other points on which they differed from him. If he had not succeeded in pleasing them he had at any rate the satisfaction of knowing that he had piloted his Government with credit out of the dangerous situation into which Lord Auckland's disastrous Afghan policy had brought it.

Lord Hardinge, 1844-1847.—He was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, a fine old soldier who had served with Wellington through the Peninsular War, and had distinguished himself on many a field. It was well for the British Government in India that a soldier was then sent to take control; for a crisis was at hand to deal with which the highest military skill was needed. The threatening attitude of the Sikhs had lately given cause for considerable anxiety. A conflict with them, sooner or later, had for some time come to be regarded as inevitable, but it was now felt to be imminent.

The military power of the Sikhs.—The Sikhs are, roughly speaking, a people of Jat descent who migrated from Rajputana to the Punjab. At first they were mere cultivators; but in the period of anarchy that set in with the decline of the Moghul Empire they began to enrich themselves at the expense of the feebler peoples among whom they dwelt. Their leaders soon acquired large tracts of land, and set up as independent chiefs; but their rule was harsh and oppressive, and the people of the soil, particularly the Muhammadan portion, suffered much at their

hands. They were but a small proportion of the population of the Punjab, for the Hindus and Muhammadans outnumbered them by ten to one; but their religious fervour, their martial spirit, and their military organisation gave to them a striking predominance. Such a people only required to be welded together under an overlord strong enough to control them to become a great power in Northern India. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they found their master in Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore. The Sikh Sirdars to the west of the Sutlej were one after another overthrown by him; and before he died he had established a great Sikh kingdom in the Punjab, more than strong enough to hold its own against its neighbours. At the time of his death the Sikh army was a splendid fighting force, numerous, well-equipped, and highly trained. The Maharajah Ranjit Singh had had the wisdom to recognise that European drill and tactics were immensely superior to anything of Indian origin, and had engaged the services of several European instructors. The most noteworthy of these was a Frenchman, General Avitabile, and it was to his skilful training that the efficiency of the army was mainly due. At the time of Ranjit Singh's death the Sikh army numbered 92,000 infantry and 31,000 cavalry, and possessed more than 500 guns.

Affairs in the Punjab after Ranjit Singh's death.—But Ranjit Singh, though a great leader of men, was not an administrator. During his reign there was no abatement of the old corruption and extortion. The people suffered as much as ever from the oppression of petty tyrants, and in addition were burdened with a multitude of vexatious taxes to support the Maharajah's vast army. Nothing but the magic of his name kept his kingdom together. Therefore, as was inevitable, when his strong hand was removed his kingdom fell instantly into a state of disorder bordering upon anarchy. While rival claimants fought for the possession of his throne, the turbulent nobility, always impatient of control, did as they pleased. By murders and massacres each party rose to power, and by the same means was in its turn disposed of by its victorious rival. At last in 1845, after scenes of horrible barbarity in which most of the relatives of the late

Maharajah had successively been assassinated, an arrangement was come to which seemed to give some hope of order being re-established. Dhulip Singh, his youngest son, was by common consent placed upon the throne and the principal Sirdars formed themselves into a Council of State.

Turbulent state of the Sikh army.—To the Khalsa, as the Council was called, was entrusted the control of the army ; but it very soon found that the army was unmanageable, and that unless some employment could be found for it, it might rise at any moment and sweep away the Government. The fears of the Khalsa were very real ; for there is indeed no greater danger to a state in peace time than the existence of a huge standing army which has lost its respect for authority and knows its strength. At length, as an alternative to civil war, the Khalsa was driven to the desperate expedient of launching it against the British. The Khalsa probably realised that there was little or no likelihood of its overthrowing that power ; but it hoped no doubt that at the worst it would return cowed and humbled and capable of being controlled. But the army itself had a very different opinion as to what the upshot of a war with the British would be ; for the disasters of the first Afghan war had shown that the British were not invincible after all. The Sikhs themselves had never known defeat during the late Maharajah's reign, and they had no doubt as to their superiority to the Company's Indian soldiers. Whatever misgivings their leaders may have had, the rank and file of the Sikh army were burning to try conclusions with the British, and entered upon the war with the utmost confidence of success.

The first Sikh War, 1845-1846. The battles of Mudki and Ferozshahr.—In December, 1845, the Sikh army poured across the Sutlej into British territory, and the first Sikh war began. British troops were dispatched against them as soon as possible, and Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sir Henry Hardinge both hurried to the front. The first encounter took place at Mudki, between 16,000 British and 30,000 Sikhs. The Sikhs, after a short and sharp conflict, were driven from the field by a

magnificent charge of the British infantry. Their loss was heavy, and seventeen of their guns were captured ; but the victors, too, suffered considerably, and among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad. Three days later the British attacked the Sikh camp at Ferozshahr. Sir Hugh Gough somewhat recklessly assaulted with his whole force just before sunset, and all night long the battle raged in great confusion. In the morning, by the exertions of Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough, the British troops were re-formed, and by a well-concerted movement the Sikhs were at last driven with heavy loss out of their encampment, and fled in great disorder, leaving 73 guns behind them. The victory was a glorious but costly one ; for, though the enemy's losses were very great, the British had more than 600 killed, and were so exhausted that they could not follow it up. After this, for a month both sides remained inactive, the British waiting for reinforcements and supplies and the Sikhs mustering for a fresh invasion.

The battles of Aliwal and Sobraon.—Towards the end of January, 1846, the Sikhs again crossed the Sutlej. General Harry Smith, who was sent ahead against them, encountered them at Aliwal, close to the bank of the river. They fought stubbornly as usual, but were steadily pushed back towards the river, and at length with great slaughter driven into it, and forced to abandon all their stores, guns, and ammunition. The Sikhs were greatly disheartened at this defeat, but they made one last great stand at Sobraon to dispute the passage of the Sutlej. General Harry Smith and Sir Hugh Gough had now joined forces, and both together advanced against the Sikhs on February 10th. The battle began with a heavy cannonade on both sides, the Sikh gunners displaying quite as much skill as their opponents. As neither side gained much advantage thereby, Sir Hugh Gough ordered a general advance. The British troops, though suffering heavily all the while, charged undauntedly across the intervening space, and getting to close quarters carried the enemy's entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. The Sikhs fought with the courage of despair, and though many fled thousands preferred to die at their posts. The carnage in the hand-to-hand fighting was fearful :

but at last the remnant of the Sikhs broke and fled into the river, pursued by the destructive fire of the British artillery.

Terms of submission.—The victory cost the British more than 300 killed and 2000 in wounded, but it was decisive. Lahore now lay at their mercy, and further resistance was seen by the Sikhs to be vain. The young king in person tendered his submission, and terms of peace were speedily arranged. The tract between the Sutlej and the Ravi was ceded to the British; the Sikh army was considerably reduced; a British Resident was received at Lahore; a British garrison stationed there for his protection; and an indemnity of a million and a half sterling fixed as the cost of the war. As the indemnity could not be paid, Kashmir, which formed part of the Maharajah's dominions, was subsequently sold to the Rajah of Jummu for £1,000,000.

There was great rejoicing in England over these brilliant victories against so stubborn and formidable a foe. For their services Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge were both raised to the peerage, and General Harry Smith was made a baronet.

Lord Hardinge's administration.—Lord Hardinge now had leisure to devote himself to questions of administration. It is noteworthy that during his time the subject of the construction of railways in India was first considered. The Governor-General entered with zeal into the work of putting down inhuman rites which Lord William Bentinck had begun. Thugi, Sati, and human sacrifices were further suppressed, and vigorous steps were taken to put a stop to female infanticide and the revolting cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion among the wild tribes. His efforts to preserve from defacement and decay the splendid architectural remains of ancient and mediaeval India have given him a special claim to the gratitude of posterity. He left India in 1848, after having held office for only three and a half years; yet few Governor-Generals have left a better record of service or have been more sincerely regretted at their departure than this chivalrous and humane old soldier.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848-1856.—His successor was Lord

Dalhousie, the last of the Governor-Generals of the East India Company, and as great an administrator as its greatest, Hastings and Wellesley. He was only 35 years of age when he landed in Calcutta in January, 1846 ; but he

had already made his mark in politics, and had displayed so singular a talent for organisation that it was felt that in accepting the office of Governor-General he had sacrificed a great career in England.

Rebellious state of the Punjab. — Lord Hardinge made India over to him in a state of perfect tranquillity, and Lord Dalhousie, like so many Governors before him, on assuming office, declared himself to be a man of peace. He soon



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found, as they too had found, that to preserve the empire he could not avoid war. Lord Hardinge, after the conclusion of the first Sikh war, had placed the Punjab during the minority of the Maharajah Dhulip Singh under a regency of Sikh nobles, controlled by the British Resident at Lahore. The arrangement did not work well, for the Sikh nobles disliked having to answer for their conduct to the Resident, and did not mean to co-operate with him. The Punjab, though outwardly calm, was seething with discontent, and the vanquished Sikhs, though sullenly acquiescing in their defeat, were cherishing the bitterest animosity and longing for the day of revenge.

Outbreak in Multan. — In 1848, Mulrâj, the Governor of Multan, rather than render to the Resident an account of his government, tendered his resignation. His resignation was accepted, and the resident dispatched two young English officers with a small escort to instal his successor. Mulrâj

had never expected to be taken at his word, and had no intention of resigning his office. With feigned humility, however, he handed over charge of it, but at the same time, with a view to recovering it, secretly incited a rebellion among the Sikh soldiery. The two young officers, with their slender escort, shortly found themselves surrounded by a rabble mob from the city, and after a brief and gallant defence they were overpowered and killed. Mulrâj then returned to the fort and resumed his Governorship. This was the signal for a general revolt throughout the Punjab.

Brilliant exploits of Lieutenant Edwardes.—News of what was happening at Multan reached Lieutenant Edwardes at Dera-Fateh-Khan, two hundred miles away, and hastily collecting as many men as he could, about four hundred in all, he hurried to the scene. He was joined later by the loyal levies of the Musalman state of Bhawalpur. Edwardes was a born soldier, daring without rashness, prompt to make the most of an advantage, and capable of inspiring patience and courage in those whom he commanded. With his small force he not only succeeded in keeping Mulrâj at bay, but defeated him in two pitched battles, and drove him back into Multan with the loss of eight of his guns. The defeat of Mulrâj was a wonderful achievement, but without speedy reinforcements the little force could not long hold its ground.

Reverse at Multan.—Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, seems not at first to have realised the seriousness of the situation; for though an outbreak at Lahore was clearly imminent, and the frontier tracts were already in revolt, he did nothing. It was not till five months had passed that a force with heavy guns arrived to undertake the reduction of the fortress. Along with the relieving force came a contingent of Sikhs numbering 5000, supplied by the Regency at Lahore. To attempt to take the fortress by storm was impracticable, so the besiegers determined to reduce it by a regular siege. In the midst of the operations the Sikh contingent, as might indeed have been foreseen, suddenly went over to the enemy. Their defection completely reversed the situation, and made it necessary to raise the siege. The British force, in some danger of being surrounded, was withdrawn to a place

of safety a few miles away, while reinforcements were sent for.

The second Sikh War, 1848-1849.—Meanwhile, the whole Punjab had risen, and to make matters worse the Afghans, forgetting their inveterate hatred of the Sikhs in their passionate longing for revenge against the British, were pouring down the Khyber Pass to aid them. The military authorities, incredible as it may seem, still failed to realise that a crisis had occurred requiring prompt and energetic action. But the indications of a widespread revolt were not lost upon Lord Dalhousie, who, though far away in Calcutta, thoroughly grasped the situation. ‘There is no other course open to us,’ he wrote, ‘but to prepare for a general Punjab war, and ultimately to occupy the country.’ He perceived what those on the spot had failed to recognise, that the Sikhs, while outwardly acknowledging their defeat, did not consider the result of the first Sikh war as final, and were united in their resolve to try conclusions again with the British. Mistrusting the judgment of those upon the spot, he set out at once himself for the Sutlej, and ordered up all available troops to the front with the least possible delay.

Indecisive engagements at Ramnagar and Sadullapur.—In November, 1848, Lord Gough took the field with a force of 20,000 men and nearly 100 guns. The brave old soldier, though a dashing and brilliant leader, was too rash and headstrong as a general. The first encounter took place at Ramnagar, across the Ravi. The Sikhs were driven from the field by a magnificent cavalry charge, but little was gained thereby, while the British loss was heavy. This was followed by an indecisive engagement at Sadullapur.

Reduction of the fort of Multan.—Meanwhile the British force outside Multan had been reinforced, and the siege had recommenced in earnest. After a tremendous battery from 64 heavy guns for ten days, during which the magazine of the fort was exploded by a shell, the city was stormed and captured. Mulrāj surrendered the citadel the next day and gave himself up to the British commander, January 3rd, 1849. The major portion of the besieging force then went north to join Lord Gough.

The battle of Chilianwala.—The bloody but inde-

cisive engagement of Ramnagar had not taught Lord Gough the need of caution, but had, on the contrary, only made him more impatient to get at the enemy. On the 12th January he came up with the main Sikh army under their most redoubtable leader, Sher Sing, drawn up in a very strong position near the village of Chilianwala, protected by jungle and brushwood. All the next day the Sikhs kept up a heavy and annoying fire upon the British camp, till at last, being unable to bear it patiently any longer, Lord Gough rashly ordered an advance, though only an hour or two of daylight remained. The intervening jungle proved a fearful obstacle, and as the British worked their way through it they were mown down in hundreds by the Sikh artillery. More than once the issue was in doubt, and only the dogged courage of the British infantry and the gallantry of their leaders saved the day from being one of disaster. But when night fell the Sikhs had been driven off with heavy loss, leaving behind them 40 guns. The British, though victors, were in a sorrowful plight; all ranks were in the utmost confusion, their loss amounted to more than 2200 men, and four of their guns and the colours of three regiments had been captured by the enemy. They dared not remain upon the ground they had so hardly won; for they were in no condition to withstand an attack should the enemy rally and return to the fight on the morrow. So in the darkness they withdrew as best they could to a safer position a mile to the rear, and waited in some anxiety for the dawn. But the Sikhs had had enough, and when daylight came the British found themselves in undisputed possession of the field.

The battle of Guzerat.—When the news of this disastrous battle reached England it caused something like consternation. Lord Gough was universally blamed for his rashness, orders for his recall were issued, and Sir Charles Napier was sent out at once to supersede him. But before Sir Charles Napier arrived Lord Gough had brought the war to a conclusion and retrieved his reputation by the decisive battle of Guzerat. There, on the 20th of February, the British came face to face with a force of 40,000 Sikhs, with 60 cannon. The battle commenced in the early morning with a tremendous

cannonade on both sides, the British on this occasion making as much use of their artillery as the enemy. Though the Sikhs fought with their usual courage, the advantage was throughout with the British, who drove them from position after position, and occupied the ground as they evacuated it. At last, towards evening, by a splendid charge of the British cavalry, they were driven in great confusion from the field, leaving behind 56 of their cannon, their standards, and all their camp equipage. The British loss on this occasion was comparatively small, being only 90 killed and 700 wounded.

General Gilbert finishes the war.—Lord Dalhousie resolved to follow up the victory by giving the Sikhs no chance of rallying. The very next day he dispatched General Gilbert after them with a force of 12,000 horse, foot and artillery. They were hunted down towards the frontier and given no rest till they submitted. By the middle of March the whole Sikh army had surrendered unconditionally and been disarmed. General Gilbert then turned his attention to the Afghans hovering about the frontier, and chased them out of the Punjab, and up into the Khyber Pass. “They had ridden down through the hills like lions,” it was said, “and ran back into them like little dogs.”

Settlement after the war.—Lord Hardinge’s policy of administering the country by British officers in the name of its ruler having failed, Lord Dalhousie decided that the only course now open was to dethrone the Maharajah and annex the country. On the 28th March, at Lahore, Dhulip Singh formally resigned his kingdom to the British, and retired on a pension of £50,000 a year. The Punjab was made into what is called a non-regulation province; that is, the code of civil and criminal procedure in force in British India was modified to suit its particular needs. The administration was entrusted to a commission of four, at the head of which was Sir Henry Lawrence. But in 1853 the Board of Commissioners was abolished, and Sir John Lawrence, brother of Sir Henry, was made Chief Commissioner. Under the rule of the Lawrences the Punjab speedily settled down into one of the most prosperous and orderly provinces in the empire. After the tyranny which

they had had to endure under the Sikh rule, the people appreciated the mild and just government of the British. Oppressive taxes were abolished, and burdensome but necessary ones were lightened, and a settlement of the land revenue was made at a considerable reduction on the former assessment. Even the disbanded soldiery settled to peaceful pursuits, and soon became as loyal and industrious as their neighbours. One of the greatest benefits conferred upon the province was the splendid system of roads and canals planned by Colonel Robert Napier, afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala.

The second Burmese War, 1852.—Three years of peace for the empire followed the overthrow of the Sikhs, and then Lord Dalhousie had to prepare to wage another war. The Burmese had not sufficiently taken to heart their severe punishment in the first Burmese war, but had continued to behave towards the British Government in the most arrogant and haughty manner. At last, in 1852, the King of Ava deliberately provoked hostilities by insulting and ill-treating British subjects at Rangoon and refusing redress when it was demanded. War was therefore declared, and an attack made upon the province of Pegu both by land and sea. Its principal cities—Rangoon, Martaban, Prome and Pegu—were one after another taken ; and as the King of Ava still refused to treat, the province was annexed, much to the delight of its inhabitants, who had suffered grievously at the hands of their Burmese governors. The whole of Lower Burmah became henceforth British territory, and, like the lately annexed Punjab, soon became a thriving and contented portion of the empire.

Dalhousie's annexation policy.—Lord Dalhousie had no scruples about annexation. He contrasted the state of the country under the Company's administration with what it had been under its former rulers, and with what it still was in the independent native states. British rule, wherever it had penetrated, had replaced oppression and violence by peace and good government. There could be no doubt that the people were everywhere better off under British than native rule. It was therefore just and right to extend the protection of his Government as far as he could by every legitimate means. Where the subjects of a

native state were groaning under the tyranny of a succession of worthless princes, he held it to be the duty of the paramount power to interfere on their behalf, and, if there were no other way of securing good government, to depose their ruler and annex the state. He felt such deep sympathy with the miseries of down-trodden peoples, and so earnestly desired to ameliorate the condition of the toiling millions, that he was impatient of old-world governments which did not seek directly to secure their happiness. Therefore, when a native ruler of a backward and mismanaged state died and left no son, he welcomed the opportunity afforded him of sweeping away an obsolete government and annexed the state to British India, on the ground that for failure of heirs in the direct line of succession it had lapsed to the paramount power.

Application of the "doctrine of lapse."—On the death of the Rajah of Satara (the last of Sivaji's line) without heirs, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognise his adopted heir and annexed the much-misgoverned state. On like grounds he annexed the State of Jhansi; and in 1853, when the Bhonsla Rajah of Nagpur died without a son, natural or adopted, he took over his kingdom also. In the same year, too, he forced the Nizam of Hyderabad to hand over Berar for the support of the subsidiary force which he had stipulated to maintain. The Nizam had failed to meet his treaty obligations, and there was no other way in which the huge debt he had contracted could be cleared off. He did not allow sentimental considerations, such as the historic interest of a kingdom or the length of a dynasty, to interfere with his policy. When the pensioned Nawabs of the Carnatic and Tanjore died without heirs, Dalhousie abolished their titles; and when Baji Rao, the last of the Peshwas, died childless at Bithur, he refused to grant either the title or the pension to his adopted son, Nana Dhundu Pant, though he allowed him to inherit his immense wealth.

Misgovernment in Oudh.—The most shamefully misgoverned kingdom was Oudh, but to it the doctrine of lapse could not be applied. From the days of Clive, as we have seen, successive Governor-Generals had been troubled with its affairs. The Nawabs owed their security to

British protection, and the British Government, because it supported them, had always in a measure recognised its responsibility for the affairs of Oudh. The scandalous misgovernment of the country had long been felt as a reproach to British rule, and efforts had constantly been made to bring home to the Nawabs a sense of their public duty. But the Nawabs, steeped in all the vices of Eastern potentates, had paid no heed to warnings or threats, and had continued to oppress their people. Wajid Ali, the reigning Nawab, was, if possible, even more careless and incorrigible than his predecessors. His wretched subjects under his misgovernment were being reduced to an appalling state of misery ; and the country, famed from earliest times for its richness and fertility, was being gradually ruined by lawlessness and violence.

Annexation of Oudh.—Lord Dalhousie felt his own responsibility for this state of things keenly, and he determined to put an end to it. In a letter to the Directors he strongly urged upon them the duty of intervention; and so powerfully did his description of the miseries of Oudh impress them that they decided on the extreme step of annexing the country. Lord Dalhousie had not wished to go so far ; but as he was not prepared to protest, he set about carrying their order into execution. On the 13th of February, 1856, Oudh was annexed by proclamation, and Wajid Ali was dethroned. He would not acquiesce in the justice of his sentence, but he did not attempt to resist. Sir James Outram, the Resident, then took over the administration, and Wajid Ali was removed to Calcutta for safe custody, and a pension of £120,000 a year was granted him.

The annexation of Oudh completed the list of additions to British India made during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie ; and it is noteworthy that the empire has remained ever since substantially what he made it. In fact with him the great work of empire building begun by Clive came to an end.

Dalhousie's administrative labours.—But Lord Dalhousie's fame does not rest only upon the great additions which he made to the Company's dominions. He has a nobler title to renown than that. His determination to

ameliorate the condition of the people, his sympathy with them, his horror of oppression, and his strict regard for justice found expression in many reforms. The list of his administrative acts and works of public utility is a long and noble one. Among the most important of the former were : the throwing open of appointments in the civil service to competition among the natural born subjects of the Company, Indian as well as European ; the organisation of a public works department ; the creation of a Legislative Council to represent both European and native opinion ; and the appointment of a separate Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal. Among works of public utility should be mentioned the construction of the Great Ganges Canal, the laying down of 2000 miles of road, the opening of the first railway, the introduction of the telegraph, and the adoption of cheap postage throughout the whole of India. In addition he laboured unceasingly to promote trade and agriculture, and gave his earnest attention to the spread of primary education. The suppression of abhorrent rites and strange forms of crime, was as much a care to him as to his predecessors, and he made the most strenuous efforts to abolish slavery throughout the length and breadth of the vast dominions over which he ruled. He was indefatigable ; and while he spent his days and nights in devising schemes for the good of the civil population, he did not forget to look to the comfort and efficiency of the soldiers, both European and Native.

Close of his career.—It is no wonder that under the excessive strain of such constant and heavy labour his health began to fail. Yet he would not relinquish his work while he had yet strength to perform it, but struggled on at his gigantic task getting weaker with each succeeding year. When in March, 1856, after eight years of incessant toil, he laid down the reins of government, his health was completely shattered, and it was clear to all and to himself that he would never recover. Four years after his return to England he died, at the comparatively early age of forty-eight ; yet he had already done enough to win the foremost place among contemporary Englishmen, and to entitle him to rank among the greatest of the Governor-Generals.

His words of warning.—He has been blamed for ignoring the condition of the Sepoy army, and for disregarding the temper of the people, but his farewell words show how well he understood the dangers which beset British rule in India. ‘In the very midst of us,’ he said, ‘insurrection may rise like an exhalation from the earth, and cruel violence worse than all the excesses of war may be suddenly committed by men who, to the very day in which they broke out in their frenzy of blood, have been regarded as a simple, harmless, and timid race.’ His last act was to press upon the Directors a re-organisation of the native army, and an increase in the number of British soldiers to guard against this very danger.

Lord Canning, 1856-1861 — the Persian War.—He was succeeded by Lord Canning, a nobleman who had already won distinction in England as a statesman. The new Governor-General entered upon his duties towards the close of

February, 1856, and set about the peaceful work of improvement with all the zeal of his predecessor. He had reason to hope for no warlike interruptions; for India enjoyed profound repose when he landed, and no external troubles threatened. But in November of the same year the aggressive and insulting attitude of the Shah of Persia forced him reluctantly to declare war on that country. The Persians had not yet given up their designs upon Herat, nor had they forgotten that but for British interference the city would have been captured by them in Lord Auckland’s time. They were now again, in spite of remonstrances, threatening Northern Afghanistan, and had



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brought matters to a crisis by wantonly insulting British subjects. They were in fact bent on war, and Lord Canning had no option but to fight. An expedition was therefore dispatched into Lower Persia against them under Sir James Outram. When confronted by the British, for all their boastfulness, they made but a poor resistance, and soon begged for peace. This was granted to them on their agreeing to pay compensation, to give up all claims to Herat, and never again to invade the territories of the Amir of Afghanistan.

The Indian Mutiny, 1857-1859.—Soon after the termination of the Persian war, Lord Canning was called upon to face the most appalling crisis that it has been the lot of any ruler of British India to confront. The mutinous spirit of the Sepoys of the Bengal army had been the subject of comment for some years past. Sir Charles Napier had called attention to it in 1850, and had warned the Government that unless some steps were taken to check it, it might lead to a formidable insurrection. It was the fear of this that had led Lord Dalhousie to recommend the Directors to raise the proportion of British troops in India.

Indiscipline of the Bengal native regiments.—Several causes had combined to undermine the discipline of the Bengal Sepoys. They looked upon themselves as the flower of the native army; and they complained that they were not treated with sufficient consideration, seeing how great a part they had played in the establishment of British supremacy in India. They had as a matter of fact obtained several privileges not accorded to the Sepoys of Madras and Bombay, but they clamoured for more, and considered themselves aggrieved when they did not obtain them. Their arrogance and discontent were steadily increasing; and latterly they had grown openly disrespectful and insubordinate to their regimental officers. Unfortunately, the authorities, who should have checked them sharply, encouraged them to make frivolous complaints by lending too ready an ear to their appeals against the action of their immediate superiors. But what had most seriously undermined discipline was the baneful practice then in vogue of taking away British officers from native regiments

to serve in civil posts. Civil employment, holding out better prospects and being more remunerative than military, had attracted the best of the younger men ; and thus it had come about that those who were left with their regiments were often disappointed men with little interest in their profession. Moreover, several of those in command of districts and divisions were notoriously unfitted for such responsible positions, some by reason of their manifest inefficiency, and others because they had reached an age when they were long past discharging military duties. In a word, while the Sepoy's opinion of himself was rising, his faith in the capabilities of his officers was diminishing.

Seditious agitation.—There were not wanting political intriguers and disaffected persons who were only too ready to encourage this bad spirit, and to inflame the minds of the Sepoys against their employers. The emissaries of dethroned princes or of their dispossessed heirs and widows went unchecked among the soldiery, and by bribes, promises, and misrepresentations of the motives of Government tampered with their loyalty. In this campaign of sedition, Ganga Bai, the widow of the last Rajah of Jhansi, and Dhundu Pant, better known as Nana Sahib, played a conspicuous part. The sons, too, of Bahadur Shah, the puppet Emperor of Delhi, went freely to and fro among the Sepoys inciting them to mutiny. The Muhammadans were told that the time had come for re-establishing Mudhammadan supremacy in Northern India ; while the Hindu soldiers, many of whom were high caste Brahmans of Oudh with most conservative instincts, were warned that it was the intention of the Government to destroy their caste. In proof of this they were bade to observe how Western innovations, such, for instance, as the railway and the telegraph, were being introduced in order to break down the old regime and undermine their cherished customs and beliefs. Yet so well was the secret kept that those in authority, both civil and military, had no notion of the seriousness of the situation.

The Sepoys, both Hindu and Muhammadan, were densely ignorant, credulous, and superstitious. They therefore listened readily to the absurd stories spread about by

crafty and designing men concerning the acts and motives of the British Government. Religious fanatics and devotees, who saw their influence waning with the spread of Western ideas and education, eagerly joined in inciting the Sepoys to rebellion; and all that large class which then abounded in India of men who lived by plunder, or by hiring themselves out for desperate undertakings, and all the disbanded soldiers and servants of the late King of Oudh who had not yet settled down, hung about the Sepoys, and called upon them to join in a general rising to expel the British.

The air was full of strange and alarming rumours, and men's minds were disturbed with a sense of some impending calamity. It was the centenary of the victory of Plassey; and a report got about in Northern India that an old prophecy foretold that the rule of the British should come to an end a hundred years after that event. It was no doubt invented by the conspirators, but as it was generally believed, it much encouraged the disaffected, and helped to gain over waverers.

Outbreak of the mutiny.—It wanted but a spark to light the train of rebellion, and that was thoughtlessly struck by the military authorities themselves. A rumour gained currency that cartridges greased with the fat of cows and pigs were being supplied to the troops. At first it was contemptuously denied by the British officers, but investigation proved that it was not destitute of foundation. By some incredible carelessness it had actually in certain instances occurred. Every effort was then made to quiet the minds of the Sepoys, and to convince them that it was due to a mistake. But a report, started by political agitators, spread like wild-fire among the native troops that it was part of a plot to defile them preparatory to forcing them into the Christian faith. Nothing would now persuade them that it was not a deliberate act of treachery upon the part of their rulers, and they were wild with horror and indignation. The mischief was done, and on Sunday, the 10th of May, 1857, the Sepoy Mutiny commenced.

Seizure of Delhi by the mutineers.—The native troops at Meerut were the first to break out. The officer in command was old and feeble, and though he had in

cantonments sufficient British troops to overawe the mutineers he did nothing. The mutinous Sepoys were speedily joined by the scum of the population, and together they massacred all the defenceless Europeans and Eurasians they could lay hands on, plundered the houses, and, having set fire to the station, made off unmolested to Delhi. The next day similar scenes were enacted at Delhi. The European officers and their families were murdered, some at the palace in the very presence of the Emperor, and the Christian population of the city hunted down and indiscriminately massacred. But by the courage of a little band of Englishmen, the arsenal, the largest in Northern India, was prevented from falling into the hands of the mutineers. After waiting for relief from Meerut which never came, they decided that to defend it was hopeless, and blew it up. Amid this turmoil, the old king was proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan.

General Sepoy revolt.—The seizure of the Moghul capital by the rebels was the prelude to a general revolt in Northern India. In nearly every military station in the United Provinces and Bengal, the Sepoys rose and murdered their officers and massacred such of the defenceless Christian population, European and native, as they could lay their hands on. In this cruel work they were eagerly joined by all the bad characters and riff-raff of the bazaars. In some places not even the women and children were spared.

Loyalty of the Punjab.—The suddenness of the outbreak and the rapidity with which the mutiny spread from district to district seemed to paralyse the authorities, and in place of energy and resolution there was hesitation and delay. But in the Punjab there were at any rate men equal to the occasion. Sir John Lawrence and his officers promptly ordered the disarmament of all the Bengal troops in the province suspected of harbouring treacherous designs. A terrible example was made of the only regiment that resisted the order and mutinied. After a brief struggle it was surrounded and practically annihilated. Several native officers caught in the act of inciting their men to rebellion were straightway hung. It might have reasonably been expected that the Punjab so recently subjugated would

have been a rallying place for the disaffected ; but owing to the prudent and sympathetic administration which had followed its annexation, the very reverse was the case. The Sikh population now not only bore no ill-will to their conquerors, but had learnt to admire and respect them ; and the people of the Punjab generally, who had benefited so much by British rule would have nothing to do with the mutineers. There could be no more striking testimony to the good feeling that existed between the conquerors and the conquered than that Sikh chiefs, even several who had fought against the British, came forward with offers of assistance in quelling the rebellion. The Punjab, in fact, instead of being a source of danger, proved a source of strength ; for it furnished throughout the mutiny relays of loyal troops to help in its suppression.

The outbreak at Cawnpore.—The mutiny soon centred round three points, Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. At the last-named place, when the news of what had happened at Meerut and Delhi reached him, the general in command of the station, who was both old and incompetent, ordered all the Europeans, some 400 soldiers, and about an equal number of women and children, into an entrenched position, which he had prepared in anticipation of the outbreak. But the site chosen was the worst possible ; for not only was it exposed on all sides, but was situated close to the Sepoy lines. When the crash came, and the entrenchment was surrounded by mutinous Sepoys, so utterly did the authorities mistake the real nature of the rebellion that they insisted in spite of strong remonstrances on inviting the arch conspirator, Nana Sahib, to come with his rabble soldiery from Bithur to their assistance. They had soon good cause to know that they could not have summoned a more bitter and revengeful foe ; for no sooner did the Nana arrive than, casting aside all pretence of friendship, he took the lead in urging on the attack upon the entrenchment.

The massacres at Cawnpore.—For nineteen days the garrison held out against enormous odds, bravely enduring the horrors of a siege in an open space behind a low mud wall, exposed to a tropical sun, and harassed day and night by a furious cannonade. The sufferings of the women and children were terrible, and many died from

wounds and disease during the siege. At last, unable any longer to endure the sight of so much misery, and deeming further resistance vain, the general in command, who had not yet lost all faith in the Nana, listened to overtures for surrender. Honourable terms being promised, the survivors of the heroic defence marched out under arms from the entrenchment to the Ganges, and there embarked on country boats to go to Allahabad. But no sooner were the boats pushed out into the stream than a murderous fire directed by Tantia Topi, the Nana's principal general, was opened upon them from the bank. A scene of indescribable confusion followed, while the doomed occupants of the boats made frantic efforts to save themselves. With the exception of four men, who escaped by swimming down the river till they reached the protection of a friendly Rajah living on the opposite bank, and of five men and two hundred and six women and children taken alive, the rest were all shot or drowned. The hideous story of what befell the wretched captives is soon told. They were taken back to Cawnpore, and a couple of weeks later butchered in cold blood by the orders of the Nana, and the dying and the dead flung together into a disused well.

Flight of the Nana and the rebels.—This last inhuman act of Dhundu Punt's was dictated by motives of spite and desperation, as much as by his thirst for blood. For a force from Calcutta, under Colonel Neill, had already scattered the mutinous Sepoys at Benares, and relieved Allahabad, and now joined by General Havelock had started to the relief of Cawnpore. The day before the massacre the Nana had gone out with his troops to drive it back, but had been ignominiously routed and forced to retreat to Cawnpore. He knew that his cause was lost, and in hate and baffled fury he determined that the British troops should not have the satisfaction of rescuing any of their countrymen and women. Two days after the perpetration of this horrid crime the British entered Cawnpore, but the miscreant Nana and the rebel army had fled.

The siege of Delhi.—While these events were happening at Cawnpore, a British force was hastily mobilised at Umballa and dispatched against Delhi. It reached its destination on the 8th of June, and took up its position on

a ridge extending for a couple of miles along the north-west front of the city. The whole force numbered barely 3000 men, and was quite inadequate for attempting a regular siege ; but the general in command dared not risk an assault. It was soon practically invested itself, and could barely hold its ground ; for the number of the rebel troops within the city was daily increasing, and the mutineers were growing bolder and more enterprising. But on the 14th of August reinforcements arrived from the Punjab under Brigadier Nicholson. The arrival of this dashing and determined soldier changed at once the aspect of affairs. There were now upwards of 30,000 rebel Sepoys in Delhi, while the besieging force scarcely numbered 7000. Yet such was the effect of Nicholson's inspiring presence that the besieger's henceforth more than held their own. Early in September siege guns arrived ; and now it was determined in spite of the fearful odds to try and capture the city by storm. On the 13th a breach was effected by the guns, and the next day the assault was delivered. It was so far successful, that the British got within the walls before night-fall ; but their loss had been heavy, and worst of all the gallant Nicholson had fallen mortally wounded at the head of the storming party. The general in command was for retiring, but the younger officers would not hear of it, and the dying Nicholson strongly supported them. It was decided to continue the attempt ; and for six days the British stubbornly fought their way through the streets driving back the rebels. On the morning of the seventh resistance ceased and Delhi was won. The next day, first Bahadur Shah, and then his two sons, and his grandson were captured. An attempt was made to rescue the latter as they were being conducted through the streets, and as it seemed probable that they who were the ringleaders and had been guilty of the foulest crimes might escape, they were there and then shot by their captor, Hodson. Bahadur Shah was reserved for trial, and later on, being found guilty of treason and murder, was transported to Burmah, there to be kept a state prisoner till his death.

The rebellion in Oudh.—The fall of Delhi was the turning-point in the mutiny. The rebels had lost their great stronghold and rallying-point, and the hopes of

re-establishing the Muhammadan Empire over Northern India were gone. But though Cawnpore and Delhi were taken the mutiny was by no means at an end. The rebel soldiery infested the whole of the United Provinces and Central India, and in Oudh the population generally had risen against the British. In this province alone the mutiny had developed into a regular rebellion ; in other parts the townsfolk and the villagers for the most part remained aloof. The reason why in Oudh the mutiny became a general rebellion was that the people had not yet settled down under the new regime. In the time of the Nawabs the central authority had been so weak that the *Talukdars*, or territorial magnates, had been accustomed to do much as they pleased. Many of them were lawless and violent men, constantly at feud with one another, and when they found that under British rule they would have to keep the peace and render obedience, they regarded the change of government with dismay. They therefore hailed the mutiny as a chance of deliverance, and used all their local influence to persuade and coerce the people of Oudh, who had not yet learnt to trust their new rulers, to rise in rebellion against them.

The defence of the Lucknow Residency.—After the fall of Delhi all eyes were turned upon Lucknow, where a desperate struggle was going on. Sir Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, was a man of a different stamp from the timid or incompetent officers who had so mismanaged things in the United Provinces. He had early foreseen the possibility of an attack, and had provisioned and fortified the Residency as well as he could to stand a siege. On the 1st of July, 1857, the British garrison, consisting of one weak regiment and a few hundred loyal sepoys, and the European civil population, numbering in all some 1700 souls, assembled at the Residency and were almost immediately invested by thousands of rebels. From every side they were subjected to a hail of shot and shell : and in the upper stories of the houses surrounding the Residency grounds native sharpshooters crouched on the watch to pick off those who exposed themselves. On the fourth day of the siege Sir Henry Lawrence, whose forethought alone had made the

defence possible, was mortally wounded by the bursting of a shell. His loss was a severe blow ; but though it depressed it did not discourage the garrison. Time after time the mutineers made desperate efforts to carry the weak defences by storm, but always retired baffled and dispirited.

But while the garrison was thinned by wounds and disease the rebels were being constantly reinforced ; so that the situation was daily growing more desperate. Yet the gallant defenders never lost heart, and continued the unequal struggle with undiminished vigour, enduring with patience and fortitude unexampled hardships and dangers. At last, after nearly three months, a relieving force arrived under Havelock, Outram, and Neill. The mutineers made strenuous efforts to repel it, but stubbornly fighting its way from street to street it reached the Residency on September 25th. But the gallant Neill, while passing through a narrow lane, was shot dead.

The pacification of Oudh.—The relieving force, though it was able to bring help to the beleaguered garrison, was not strong enough to extricate it, and was itself invested along with it. But in November Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Oudh with a large and well-equipped force, and cutting his way into Lucknow, effected the relief of the heroic garrison. He did not, however, occupy Lucknow, but turned his attention to the pacification of the surrounding country. The Begum of Oudh, the Nawab of Bareilly, and the infamous Nana were hovering about doing their utmost to stimulate the mutineers to fresh exertions ; and Tantia Topi, at the head of the Gwalior contingent, which, despite the efforts of the loyal Maharajah, had at last joined the mutineers, was once more threatening Cawnpore. But the back of the mutiny was now broken ; and Sir Colin Campbell, after driving away Tantia Topi and clearing the country between Lucknow and Cawnpore, returned and captured Lucknow in spite of the most determined and desperate resistance. The mutineers rallied again at Bareilly, but were driven out. Their last stronghold being now taken from them, they were chased from place to place, losing heavily in every engagement ; till by the end of 1858 the province was cleared, and the broken remnant driven across the frontier of Nepal.

The campaign in Central India.—A force from Bombay under Sir Hugh Rose was meanwhile operating in Central India. The campaign was a most brilliant one; for though the Bombay army had to operate in a hilly and most difficult country, yet within three months it subjugated the whole. Kalpi, the great arsenal of the rebels, was first taken, and then Jhansi was besieged; and though Tantia Topi, with 20,000 men, came to its relief, it too was captured. But the cruel and revengeful Rani, who had put to death every European, male and female, who had fallen into her hands, made her escape. Tantia Topi, who was indeed the only capable commander the mutineers produced, was soon in sore straits and obliged to abandon his guns; but he managed to elude his pursuers by a series of the most skilfully conducted retreats. At length he came to Gwalior. The Maharajah, who had remained loyal to the British at great personal risk, made an attempt to drive him off, but was defeated and fled to Agra. The rebel party in Gwalior thereupon seized the government, gave to Tantia Topi an enthusiastic welcome, and placed at his disposal the treasury, the magazine, and the artillery of the Maharajah. Thither also shortly came the Rani of Jhansi with the remnant of her followers.

The capture of Tantia Topi.—The rebellion had entered upon a new phase by this time. All hope of re-establishing the Moghul Empire being at an end, the Hindus of Central India needed a new rallying cry. As a last desperate resource Tantia Topi therefore proclaimed the Nana Peshwa, although the latter was at the time a fugitive and in hiding. Tantia Topi, flushed with the apparent success of this wild scheme, went out with a large force to give battle to Sir Hugh Rose, who was advancing on Gwalior. The result was hardly what he expected; for he was so severely beaten at Morar that he was obliged to retreat precipitately to Gwalior and shut himself up in its fortress. Sir Hugh Rose lost no time in following up his victory, and attacked the place so vigorously that, after a brief resistance, it was captured. In the assault the Rani of Jhansi fell fighting bravely at the head of her troops, but Tantia Topi slipped away as usual. After dodging to and fro for nearly a year with rapidly diminishing adherents,

he was at length betrayed into the hands of the British by one of his own followers, and, being tried for his share in the massacres at Cawnpore, was condemned and hanged.

The end of the mutiny.—With the capture and execution of Tantia Topi in April, 1859, the mutiny virtually came to an end ; for the few surviving leaders had already made their escape from Indian territory. What became of the Nana Sahib was never known ; he was chased into the terai, the heavy jungle at the foot of the Nepal hills, and there lost sight of for ever.

Treatment of the mutineers.—Lord Canning throughout this anxious period had displayed a wonderful calmness and presence of mind ; but when it was all over, he showed that he also possessed firmness and humanity. There were many whose relations and friends had met a cruel death, and many besides who had lost all their property, and, now that the mutiny was over, they clamoured wildly for vengeance. But Lord Canning was careful to discriminate between those who had merely participated in the rising and those who had been implicated in the murder and massacre of Europeans. He proclaimed a general amnesty to all who threw themselves on British mercy, provided they were not found guilty of these offences. Those who had helped the British, and they were many, were rewarded with titles, grants of land, and pensions.

Lord Canning's clemency.—Lord Canning was accused of undue clemency by those who would have retaliated upon the natives of the disturbed districts generally for the shocking crimes committed by the rebel Sepoys and the scum of the bazaars. But that he showed no dangerous leniency came to be admitted when the passions excited by the horrors of the mutiny had subsided. The lands of the disloyal *Talukdars* of Oudh were confiscated, and no indulgence was shown to those who had taken a prominent part in the rebellion. It was his mission to pacify the country and to allay popular excitement, and he nobly performed it, paying no heed to the storm of detraction and abuse which his conciliatory policy aroused among a certain section of the European community.

Assumption of the government of India by the

Crown.—The mutiny marks a turning-point in the history of India. It was a vain struggle of the old order to check the march of civilisation; and ever since a silent revolution has been going on, modifying, transforming, and even pulling down in parts the ancient fabric of custom and belief. But the chief result of the Indian mutiny, from an administrative point of view, was that it immediately brought about the fall of the East India Company. It was felt in England that the affairs of so vast an empire ought no longer to be administered by a company, but that the sovereign in Parliament should assume direct responsibility for them. The East India Company, in spite of the most able advocacy on behalf of its preservation, was abolished, and the administration of India transferred to the Crown. By an Act of Parliament which received the royal assent on August 2nd, 1858, the powers of the Board of Control and of the Court of Directors were vested in a Secretary of State, and a council of fifteen members—eight of whom must have previously served in India—called the Indian Council, was created to advise him. The Governor-General in India received the additional title of Viceroy, or representative of the sovereign, and was placed under the control of the Secretary of State. The responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament was assured by giving him a seat in the Cabinet.

End of the East India Company.—Thus came to an end the old East India Company. Its career is without parallel in history. Step by step, and often against its inclination, did a company of merchants, which started with no other object than to trade with the East Indies, develop into a great territorial ruler, and in the course of its development lay aside its trading interests and assume responsibility for the peace and well-being of a mighty empire. Whatever may have been its shortcomings in the earlier phases of its growth, it came at length, under the rule of the Governor-Generals, to recognise its duties to the millions entrusted to its charge in a way in which no previous government had done—not even that of Akbar.

CHAPTER III.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN.

The Queen's proclamation.—On the 1st of November, 1858, it was announced by royal proclamation throughout India that Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria had assumed the responsibility for the administration of the Indian Empire through a Secretary of State. The proclamation has fittingly been called the 'Magna Charta of India.' In it equal justice and religious toleration were declared to be the guiding principle of the Queen's rule; a general amnesty was announced to all who had not taken part in the massacres accompanying the mutiny; and all existing treaties, rights and titles were confirmed. Its publication did more than any acts of forcible repression could have done to quell the mutiny; and the spirit of rebellion which still lingered in certain localities began at once rapidly to subside.

The right of adoption admitted.—In July, 1859, peace was proclaimed throughout Hindustan; and in the cold weather of that year Lord Canning went on a tour through Northern India. At a great durbar, held at Agra, he received the loyal native princes, and after decorating those who during the mutiny had displayed conspicuous devotion to the British Government, he announced that the right of adoption would henceforth be conceded to them. This important announcement was received with unbounded satisfaction; for the previous refusal to recognise the right of native princes to adopt heirs had given rise to much bitterness of feeling.

Financial measures.—The suppression of the mutiny had cost 40 millions sterling, and the measures to be taken to prevent its recurrence, would cause, it was estimated, an annual increase in the budget of 10 millions sterling. A huge deficit had to be met, and provision at the same time made for the increase in the annual expenditure. The financial outlook was indeed gloomy, till Mr. Wilson, a distinguished financier, was sent out to India by the Secretary of State to grapple with the problem. By his advice the

customs system was revised, a state paper currency issued, and a license duty and an income-tax imposed. These measures in three years extinguished the deficit, and at the same time considerably increased the annual income of Government.

Administrative reforms.—Lord Canning spent the remainder of his tenure of office in carrying out administrative reforms. In 1859 a Rent Act was passed to protect the cultivators of Bengal from the oppression of the landlords; in 1860 the India Penal Code, which had been drawn up by Macaulay, passed into law; and in 1861 the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were brought into operation. Other important reforms were the abolition of the Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalat, and the establishment of a High Court in which the functions of both were amalgamated, and the founding of Universities in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

Character of Lord Canning.—Lord Canning left India in 1862, and in June of the same year he died. If he was slow in grasping a situation, and slow in making up his mind, he atoned for these shortcomings by his wonderful calmness throughout a period of stress and danger unexampled in the history of British India, and by his firmness in pursuing, after it was over, the course which he knew to be the right one. His country recognised his great services by creating him an earl on his return, and by erecting a monument to him in Westminster Abbey when he died.

The first Lord Elgin, 1862.—Lord Elgin, who had gained experience as an administrator in Canada, and had lately returned from a mission to China, succeeded him in March, 1862. Some uneasiness was caused by a petty rebellion on the north-west frontier of a fanatical sect of Muhammadans known as Wahabis. The rising in itself would have been insignificant but for the discovery that it had been fomented by seditious men in India, and that there was reason for fearing that it might spread among the wild Afghan tribes of the border. The turbulent hill-men have been a thorn in the side of every Indian Government from the earliest times; and the British Government, like its predecessor the Moghul Empire, has been almost con-

stantly at war with one or other of the tribes. The war with the Wahabi fanatics was still going on in the winter of 1863, when Lord Elgin, who had started on a tour in the north-west of India, was taken seriously ill, and died. He lies buried at Dharmasala in the Himalayas.

Trouble with Bhutan.—Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, came up to Calcutta to officiate for him. His brief tenure of office was marked by the storming and capture of the Wahabi stronghold at the top of the Umbeyla Pass. But the fanatics, though depressed thereby, were not yet sufficiently humbled to give in. Meantime trouble was imminent in the north-east corner. A powerful Rajah of Bhutan had taken to raiding the Duars, the tract of British territory lying at the foot of the Himalayas along the southern border of Bhutan. An embassy which had been sent into Bhutan to remonstrate had been subjected to the grossest insults, and war was inevitable.

In England it was believed that a grave crisis was again at hand, and the Government was persuaded to depart from the established custom of sending out to India, as Governor-General, a man of distinction but with no previous experience of the country, and to send out Sir John Lawrence, who had so ably administered the Punjab, and done so much towards suppressing the mutiny in Northern India.

Lord Lawrence, 1864-1869—the Bhutan War.—On January 12th, 1864, the new Viceroy and Governor-General landed in Calcutta. With his advent the war-clouds quickly rolled away. The rising on the north-west frontier was soon put down, though not without a heavy loss in men and money. An expedition sent into Bhutan, after encountering great difficulties in its passage into that wild and mountainous land, captured two of the principal forts of the kingdom, and brought the Bhutias to a humbler frame of mind. But the season was so unhealthy, and the country so unfavourable for offensive operations, that it was decided to make peace and retire. It cannot be said that the Bhutan war was brought to a glorious termination, but the course adopted was no doubt the best possible in the circumstances; for the campaign was

a costly one, and there was no prospect by continuing it of obtaining in the end an indemnity. It at any rate served its purpose well, for the Bhutias have never since raided British territory.

Famine.—During Sir John Lawrence's administration, one of those appalling calamities, to which India has been so frequently subjected, occurred. In the year 1866 a terrible famine in Orissa swept away two millions of people. The Government of Bengal seemed powerless to cope with it. There was also at the same time much suffering due to scarcity in Madras ; but there Lord Napier, the Governor, rose to the emergency and devised means which mitigated, though they could not prevent, distress.

These terrible visitations have from the earliest times recurred more or less at regular intervals. The references to drought and the frequent invocation of Indra, the sky that rains, in the hymns of the Rig Veda, are significant, while the Buddhist chronicles are full of allusions to the dread visitation ; and though Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador at Chandra Gupta's Court, was told there had never been a scarcity of food in the Kingdom of Magadha, there need be no doubt that famines were as common in ancient days as now. Failure of the rains is no new phenomenon, and the conditions of life among the masses have never greatly varied. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we learn how Akbar attempted to provide against these dreadful scourges. Nevertheless, in 1596 there was so severe a famine that the people died by thousands of starvation, cannibalism became common, and 'corpses lay about unburied in the public thoroughfares.' In Jehangir's reign, also, a similar calamity occurred ; and again in the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurungzeb famines swept away large numbers of the people. In the long years of anarchy and misrule that followed the break up of the Moghul Empire, when the lawlessness of the countryside made intercommunication well-nigh impossible, fertile and thickly populated areas were converted by famine into desolate wastes. In 1784, owing to a prolonged drought, such was the scarcity of food that the famished people wandered into the jungles in search of roots and berries, and there numbers were devoured by beasts of prey ; and wolves,

and even tigers driven by hunger from their natural haunts, prowled at night about the towns and villages, devouring the corpses that lay uncared for in the streets.

Systematic relief instituted.—The awful nature of the calamity in Orissa, and the inability of the Bengal authorities to cope adequately with it brought home to the government of India the necessity of making some regular provision for such emergencies. It was felt to be a duty of government to undertake the systematic conduct of measures of relief. The responsibility of the state for the lives of its subjects in times of famine and scarcity had never before been recognised in India ; though benevolent rulers like Akbar had been moved by humanity to take measures to alleviate distress. The British Government having once laid upon itself the burden of responsibility, has since taken up the task of famine administration in right earnest ; and learning by sad experience how best to deal with these frequently recurring calamities, has devised scientific methods of relief which have saved the lives of helpless millions who would most certainly under former conditions have died of starvation.

The policy of "masterly inactivity."—In 1868 another rising occurred on the North-West Frontier ; this time in the Hazara district, but the same influences were again at work which brought about the earlier Wahabi affair. It was, however, speedily and effectually put down. In Afghanistan at the same time a fratricidal war was being carried on among the sons of Dost Muhammad for the throne. At length Sher Ali, having defeated his brothers, made good his claims to succeed. He had previously appealed for help to the Indian Government, but Sir John Lawrence had declined to interfere. The policy of non-interference, or, as it was called, "masterly inactivity," was much in favour at the time. But while it did not, as events will show, save India from further trouble in the north-west, it provoked the resentment of Sher Ali, and by alienating him, opened the way to Russian intrigues at the court of Afghanistan.

Sir John Lawrence retires.—Sir John Lawrence retired in January, 1869, and was raised to the peerage for his long and meritorious service. He died ten years later,

and was laid among the honoured dead in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Mayo, 1869-1872.—He was succeeded by Lord Mayo, a nobleman of great ability and inexhaustible energy. With a view to conciliating Sher Ali, the new Viceroy invited him to an interview at Umballa. Sher Ali accepted the invitation, came, and was sumptuously entertained, and a magnificent durbar was held in his honour. Great things were expected to result from his visit ; but the Afghan ruler proved exacting and uncompromising, and because he did not obtain all that he wanted, went away with his former resentment increased by his disappointment. This was a bad beginning, but Lord Mayo soon retrieved his reputation by his labours in the field of internal reform.

The Provincial Contract System.—The state of the finances called for the most serious consideration. The deficits of the last three years had amounted to nearly six crores of rupees ; and as it had become a practice to meet every fresh deficit by raising a fresh loan, the liabilities of the Government were accumulating at an alarming rate. Lord Mayo went thoroughly into the question, and concluded that the chief cause of this unsatisfactory state of things was that the local governments had no incentive to economise. Under the existing system the local governments, towards the close of the year, presented their estimates of expenditure for the coming year, and the Indian Government, after revising the estimates, made its allotments. Under such a system the local governments knew that the more they asked for the more they were likely to get, and they were not therefore anxious to keep down their estimates. Nor had they any inducement to economise ; for whatever they saved out of their annual allotments, lapsed to the supreme Government. Naturally, as they did not get the benefit of economy, they were not economical. Furthermore, they had no direct inducement to expand the revenue ; for whatever was collected by them had to be made over to the Government of India.

Lord Mayo perceived that the best way in which to encourage economy was to give the local governments a share in the savings effected thereby, and that to interest them in revenue collection, they must be allowed to profit

by their vigilance in supervising it. With these ends in view he devised a method of allotment known as the Provincial Contract System, which, with certain modifications, is still in force. Certain shares in the land revenue and other sources of income were to be made over for a term of five years to local governments to meet their expenditure ; and whatever savings were effected by a local government during the contract period were to become its absolute property, and not as formerly to lapse to the supreme Government. It will be readily seen that by the contract system the local governments have an inducement to economise, and a direct interest in the expansion of the revenue. The wisdom of the measure was immediately apparent. There was no deficit the year after it came into operation, and at the end of the second year there was actually a surplus.

Assassination of the Viceroy.—Lord Mayo carried out many of Lord Dalhousie's projects for the development of the material resources of the country, which had been suspended in consequence of the mutiny. There was during his term of office a great extension of roads, railways, and canals. An agricultural department was created, and the public works department was remodelled. Lord Mayo was popular with all classes of the community, but he was specially successful in his dealings with native princes and nobles. His dignified presence, and his courtly manners strongly appealed to a class which set great store by such qualities. He had besides a strong and attractive personality which impressed itself indelibly on those who came in contact with him. He was indeed in all respects an ideal Viceroy. With what a shock therefore was the news received that such a man had been assassinated. While at Port Blair, the chief town of the Andaman Islands, to which he had gone in 1872 with a view to enquiring on the spot into the condition of the convict settlement there, he was stabbed to death by a fanatic Afghan convict.

Lord Northbrook, 1872-1876.—Lord Northbrook was appointed to succeed him; and in the interval between Lord Mayo's death and his arrival from England, Lord Napier was sent for from Madras to officiate for him.

Hostile Russian influence.—The rapid expansion of the Russian Empire in Central Asia towards the confines of

Afghanistan and the constant reports of Russian intrigues at the Court of Kabul, hostile to British interests, had created considerable anxiety in England and in India. The suspicion that Russia had designs on India itself had been entertained for several years, and a variety of causes had combined latterly to strengthen it. There were many, and those not the least experienced, who severely criticised the policy of 'masterly inactivity' so strongly advocated by Lord Lawrence. They pointed out how Russia was taking advantage of it to establish a predominant influence along the north-west frontier, in furtherance of her sinister designs.

Understanding with Russia.—Lord Northbrook steered a middle course between the exponents of intervention and of 'masterly inactivity.' He did not share in the general alarm, but he recognised the necessity of coming to some understanding with Russia as to the respective spheres of influence of that country and the British Indian Empire. He accordingly seized the first opportunity which offered itself to effect this object, by showing the Russian Government that the Indian Government had no desire to interfere in Central Asian affairs. Chiefly through his instrumentality a friendly arrangement was come to between the two governments, by virtue of which each pledged itself to respect the other's sphere of influence. The actual boundaries of the spheres of influence were not then definitely settled; but the recognition of their existence was a most important step towards a complete understanding between the two countries.

The famine in Behar.—In 1874 the Indian Government had an opportunity of putting into practice its declaration of responsibility for the lives of famine-stricken subjects. The scarcity which was affecting parts of Bengal owing to a partial failure of the monsoon in Behar deepened as the year advanced into acute famine. Lord Northbrook nobly responded to the task of saving life, and his efforts were energetically seconded by Sir Richard Temple. Relief works were opened, upon which the starving people were employed in digging tanks, making roads, and throwing up embankments for prospective railways. More than a million and a half of people obtained the means of livelihood in this

way. Grain was poured into the affected districts at Government expense, and everything that could be done was done to save life. The extent of the operations for famine may be judged by the expenditure, which exceeded eight crores of rupees.

Misconduct of the Gaekwar.—In the same year Lord Northbrook had the unpleasant task of asserting the right of the supreme Government to interfere in the affairs of a feudatory state. The relations between the Government of India and the native princes had been steadily improving, and the latter were beginning to recognise that their dominions formed integral portions of a great and glorious empire. It was the more unfortunate, therefore, that an instance of mismanagement and misconduct so gross should have occurred, as to necessitate the adoption of strong measures with one of their number. The Gaekwar of Baroda had for some time been shamefully misgoverning his state, and there were grave suspicions that he had lately made an attempt to poison the British Resident at his Court. As the result of a commission of inquiry he was considered unfit any longer to rule. He was therefore deposed, and a young kinsman installed in his place.

Visit of the Prince of Wales.—If any bad impression was created by this unfortunate case it was the next year dispelled by the visit to India of the Prince of Wales, now His Majesty King Edward VII. Wherever His Royal Highness went his presence evoked spontaneous outbursts of loyalty among the people; and it was noticeable that the native chiefs and princes in particular vied with each other in doing him honour.

Lord Northbrook spent the remainder of his term of office over questions of finance. He retired early in the year 1876, and was succeeded by Lord Lytton.

Lord Lytton, 1876-1880—assumption of the title of Empress of India by the Queen.—On the 1st January, 1877, the new Viceroy held a magnificent durbar at Delhi to proclaim to the princes and peoples of India that Her Majesty Queen Victoria had assumed the title of Empress of India. The event was celebrated in a manner worthy of the occasion. Princes, nobles, and high officials flocked from all quarters to the great assembly. On 'The

Ridge'—made for ever memorable as the encampment of the valiant besiegers of Delhi in 1857—and overlooking the historic city, the news that all India was for the first time in its history united under one Imperial ruler was proclaimed to the assembled multitudes amid a scene of unexampled splendour.

The famine in the Deccan.—In contrast to this gorgeous celebration in the north, a long-continued drought was causing grave anxiety in the south. In the autumn of the year, owing to a second failure of the monsoon rains, the worst fears were realised, and scarcity deepened rapidly into famine over the whole of the Deccan. Lord Lytton himself went down to Madras, where the suffering was the severest, to mark his sympathy with the stricken people and to watch the measures of relief. Money was freely and ungrudgingly spent, and the most strenuous exertions were made to provide food for the starving; but in spite of all that could be done, the loss of life by starvation and the diseases incident to famine was considerable.

Strained relations with the Amir of Afghanistan.—The next year was taken up with the affairs of Afghanistan. It has already been mentioned that since the Vice-royalty of Lord Lawrence, the Amir Sher Ali had cherished a feeling of resentment against the Indian Government, and that Lord Mayo's efforts to remove it had only embittered him. The occupation of Quetta by the British, for strategical reasons, greatly annoyed him; and when his protest against it had no effect, he turned for support to Russia. A mission from that country was received with great honour at his Court. Lord Lytton did not wish to interfere in Afghan politics if he could avoid it, but he regarded the possibility of Russia establishing her influence in Afghanistan with alarm. He therefore dispatched a British envoy to Kabul; but Sher Ali rudely turned him back at the entrance to the Khyber Pass, thus clearly showing that he was favouring Russian designs. So direct an insult could not be tolerated, and the inevitable result was a declaration of war.

The second Afghan War, 1878-1879.—British columns advanced upon Afghanistan by three different routes, and pushed their way through the passes. Jellalabad was occupied towards the close of 1878, and Kandahar

a little later. Sher Ali did not wait to meet the forces converging on his capital, but fled northward to Balk ; and there a little later he died. Yakub Khan, his son, seeing that no help was to be expected from Russia, entered into treaty with the British at Gandamak on the 25th May, 1879, and was recognised as Amir on condition that he would receive a British Resident at Kabul.

Murder of the British Resident.—The appointment of a Resident was unpopular with the Afghans, and the catastrophe which followed the first Afghan war might have warned Lord Lytton against such an arrangement. But he was bent upon counteracting Russian influence at Kabul, and he saw no other way than by establishing a British Residency there. Sir Louis Cavagnari was sent to occupy this hazardous post. The fears that were entertained for his safety were soon seen to have been only too well founded. On the 3rd of September the sullen and treacherous Afghan soldiers broke out into mutiny, attacked him and his escort, and massacred every soul.

The third Afghan War, 1879-1881.—To avenge his death another war was necessary. General Sir Frederick Roberts (now Field-Marshal Lord Roberts) advanced with a force rapidly on Kabul and occupied the neighbouring heights. Sir Donald Stewart, who was marching to reinforce him, met and defeated on the way an Afghan army in a desperate fight at Ahmad Khel. Kabul was soon occupied in force, and Yakub Khan was removed to India. By this time practically the whole of Afghanistan was seething with rebellion, and the position of the British garrison at Kabul was becoming critical. General Roberts, however, brilliantly repulsed an attack and dispersed the insurgents.

Lord Ripon, 1880-1884.—Lord Lytton at this juncture resigned, and the Marquis of Ripon was—in April, 1880—appointed to succeed him. Shortly after his arrival news was brought that Ayub Khan, brother of Yakub Khan and Governor of Herat, had defeated a British force at Maiwand. Once again General Roberts came to the rescue, and, marching rapidly from Kabul to Kandahar, fell upon Ayub's army and completely routed it. This splendid feat of arms, one of the most brilliant of the century, virtually

put an end to the rebellion. Abdur Rahman Khan, a cousin of Yakub Khan, was invited to Kabul and placed upon the vacant throne. In March, 1881, the British withdrew from Kabul and from all interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Liberal reforms.—Lord Ripon had now leisure to devote himself to the task of internal reform. His Vice-royalty is memorable for the introduction of certain important liberal measures. The Vernacular Press was freed from the special restrictions which his predecessor had devised to control it, and made subject only to the ordinary laws relating to printed matter. In 1882 a Local Self-Government Act was passed, giving to the people of towns in which municipalities exist a greater share in the management of their affairs. He also by a series of enactments largely increased the powers of rural boards and placed them upon a more representative basis. He hoped, by delegating authority to the citizens themselves in matters of purely local concern, to awaken public interest among them, and, by rendering municipalities less dependent on official control, to make them serve as instruments of political education. Lastly, a commission was appointed to enquire into and report on the state of education with a view to its extension on a broader basis.

Employment of Indian troops abroad.—In the year 1882 an event took place which deserves special mention. A contingent of Indian troops was dispatched to Egypt to take part with the British forces in the occupation of that country. This contingent acquitted itself most creditably, and proved to the world that India is a reserve of strength to the British Empire, and that the valour and endurance of her native soldiers are forces in its general scheme of defence to be reckoned with by any invader.

Retirement of Lord Ripon.—Lord Ripon retired in 1884. No Viceroy or Governor-General has so much endeared himself to the natives of India; and his memory will be long cherished by them with peculiar gratitude and affection for his liberal reforms, and for the trust and confidence which he so unhesitatingly reposed in them.

Lord Dufferin, 1884-1888—the Boundary Commission.—He was succeeded in December, 1884, by Lord

Dufferin. Immediately upon his arrival his attention was taken up with affairs beyond the north-west frontier. A crisis in Central Asia seemed at hand, owing to the aggressive attitude of the Russian Government. Its policy of extension of territory had been so steadily pursued that the whole of Central Asia had now been absorbed into the Russian Empire, down to the very borders of Afghanistan. Russia seemed now to be making every preparation for the seizure of Herat, which was the key to Afghanistan. In view of a Russian advance upon India, Herat would be a place of the greatest strategical importance, and the Indian Government, in self-defence, could not tolerate its occupation ; and, moreover, to stand by and permit it would be a violation of its obligations towards the Amir of Afghanistan, the integrity of whose territory it had guaranteed. Lord Dufferin warded off the danger of an immediate collision between Russia and Afghanistan by proposing a joint Boundary Commission of English and Russian officers to settle the borders of Afghan territory. This was agreed to, and Russia relinquished her project of occupying Herat. Disputes between the Russian and English commissioners, however, at one time very nearly led to an open rupture and to war between the two countries.

Loyalty of the native princes.—It was during this acute crisis that the native princes gave a gratifying proof of their loyalty to the paramount power. When war seemed imminent, they hastened to come forward with generous offers of assistance to the Indian Government. As a result of the scare, the bonds of union between the native princes and the Indian Government have been drawn closer, and an Imperial Service Contingent, for employment in defence of India, has since been organised in every important native state.

Misconduct of the Burmese Government.—In 1885 the conduct of the Government of Upper Burmah made war upon that country inevitable. It had continually violated its treaty obligations, and not only had it failed to afford the promised protection to British traders, but had even itself ill-treated them. King Thebaw and his advisers so grossly misgoverned the country that it was rapidly sinking into a state of anarchy. His kingdom was infested

by organised bands of robbers, who committed without fear of punishment the most brutal atrocities. At length, emboldened by impunity, they began to raid British territory. The Burmese Government, when called upon to suppress them, returned scornful or evasive answers. But in November, 1885, King Thebaw brought matters to a crisis by a crowning act of folly. He announced his intention of invading British territory. This was too much, and war was forthwith declared upon him.

The third Burmese War, 1885.—The Burmese offered practically no resistance to the expedition sent against them, and Mandalay, the capital, was occupied without the need of striking a blow. Thebaw, who was a cruel tyrant besides being an incapable ruler, was deposed and transported as a state prisoner to India; and Upper Burmah was annexed on January 1st, 1886. The whole of Burmah has since been formed into one province and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. The task of putting down the robber bands, whose depredations King Thebaw's misrule had encouraged, has been a difficult one, but it has been satisfactorily accomplished; and Burmah, as part of the Indian Empire, has now a great future before it.

Gwalior restored to the Maharajah.—The last act of importance of Lord Dufferin's administration was the restoration of the fort of Gwalior to the Maharajah Sindhia. Ever since the days of the mutiny, when it had served the rebels as a rallying place, it had been held by the British. Its restoration to the Maharajah was a recognition of the altered conditions obtaining since the mutiny and an expression of the confidence which the Indian Government reposed in its feudatories.

Lord Lansdowne, 1888-1893—the Manipur War.—Lord Dufferin retired in 1888 and was succeeded by Lord Lansdowne. Affairs on the north-west frontier again occupied considerable attention, owing to the persistency with which Russian officers with detachments of troops kept crossing into Afghan territory. By the firmness with which the Indian Government made it plain that they would support the Amir in protecting his territorial rights, the Russians were induced to retire. At the same time the boundaries of Afghanistan to the east and south were clearly demarcated.

The Manipur War.—A rising in the small native state of Manipur resulted in the murder of the Chief Commissioner of Assam and four British officials. The two British officers in command of the escort feebly retreated without making an effort to punish the crime. This show of weakness might have had serious consequences, but fortunately the gallantry and resource of other officers in charge of isolated outposts in the neighbourhood retrieved the situation. A force hurriedly despatched from Calcutta to suppress the rising had no difficulty in capturing the capital and pacifying the country. The Rajah, a usurper, was deposed and sent as a prisoner to the Andamans, and those who had taken a prominent part in the treacherous murder of the officials were hanged. The Indian Government, true to its policy, did not annex the state, but raised to the vacant throne a boy belonging to the royal family. The country is now being administered by a British officer during the minority of the present ruler.

Election of members to the Councils.—The only other matter of importance during Lord Lansdowne's Viceroyalty was the passing of an Act providing for the election by public bodies of a certain number of members to the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, with a view to giving the Government the benefit of unofficial views on matters under discussion.

The second Lord Elgin, 1894-1899—the Chitral Expedition—Plague.—Lord Elgin, son of the successor to Lord Canning, succeeded Lord Lansdowne in 1894. An important step was taken during his first year of office towards the amicable settlement of the difficulties arising out of Russian aggressions in the north. Russia was induced to accept the Oxus as her southern boundary, and to take part in a boundary commission to settle the limits of disputed territory to the east. The settlement then made has proved to be a lasting one, and there has been no further anxiety on this head. But excepting this affair, no Viceroy has had to contend with so continuous a succession of misfortunes. A heavy fall in the exchange value of the rupee caused a deficit in the revenue of two and a quarter crores. A disturbance at Chitral, placed within the British sphere by the agreement with the Amir during Lord

Lansdowne's time, led to a costly expedition, and to the occupation of that remote post by the British Government. Then followed an outbreak of bubonic plague, which, commencing in Bombay, rapidly extended throughout the surrounding country, and made its appearance in distant places as well. The measures taken to prevent its spreading over the whole continent were misunderstood by the people and misrepresented by designing persons, and at first gave rise to much alarm and mistrust. The panic and disorder which its presence caused did great injury to trade and industrial enterprise in the Western Presidency. The ignorance of sanitation, and the state of unreasoning superstition among the people of India, which the outbreak disclosed, have shown how much yet remains to be done in the matter of education.

Famine.—In the autumn of 1897, while plague was still raging, there occurred a most widespread famine. Relief operations were undertaken on a stupendous scale, and were liberally supplemented by private charity. The parts chiefly affected were the United Provinces, Behar, and Central India. But owing to the admirable system of relief devised, and the able direction of Sir Anthony (now Lord) Macdonell, the mortality directly due to famine was little above the normal in the United Provinces, and even in the Central Provinces, where the famine was the most severe, the deaths from starvation were, considering all things, remarkably few.

Earthquake.—On the top of these calamities the most violent and far-reaching earthquake recorded in Indian history took place in North-Eastern India. The loss of life caused thereby was surprisingly small, but the loss of property, the destruction of buildings, and the damage done to public works, particularly railways, was very great.

Unrest on the north-west frontier.—The year 1897 was a year of great unrest. In India the accumulation of disasters, the sufferings of the people, and the measures taken for the prevention of plague gave rise to much unreasoning bitterness and discontent. Across the north-west frontier, the warlike and fanatical tribesmen were greatly excited by the news of the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks. Their spiritual leaders, ever ready

for a chance of mischief, persuaded them that the time had come for a general rising of Muhammadans. The misfortunes of the Indian Government seemed to promise a chance of success ; and in the autumn of the year, one tribe after another rose, till all the borderland was up in arms. The great caravan route through the Khyber was closed, and raids were made by frontier tribes into British territory.

The Tirah Campaign.—It was needful to teach the tribes a lesson that they would not forget, and a big war was therefore undertaken against them. The preparations made for it were on an unprecedentedly large scale. Sir William Lockhart, who was appointed to the command of the punitive expedition, led across the border the largest army that had ever been employed on such a purpose. After much hard fighting the tribes were driven back and pursued into their hills and fastnesses. The expedition, which is known as the Tirah Campaign, was a long, arduous and costly one, and many valuable lives were lost ; but the tribesmen were thoroughly humbled before it was finished, and their country, which they had counted inaccessible, was traversed from end to end.

Lord Elgin left India after a five years' administration with a reputation greatly enhanced by the way he had faced each succeeding disaster, and had overcome his difficulties.

Lord Curzon, 1899.—He was succeeded by Lord Curzon, who relinquished the office of British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in order to take up his Indian appointment.

Frontier affairs.—His first task was to endeavour to effect a permanent settlement with the wild tribes across the north-west frontier. British troops were gradually withdrawn and tribal levies substituted for them, and the tribes were left to manage their own affairs without molestation. But the withdrawal was accompanied by a concentration of troops on the Indian side of the border and the completion of strategic railways, so that the tribes might understand that punishment would follow swiftly if they made raids into British territory. Though the compromise has not been completely successful it has on the whole worked well ; but with men so turbulent and so loosely governed as the trans-frontier tribesmen no agreement that will be

held by them to be finally binding can be made. Hitherto frontier affairs had been the care of the Punjab Government, but it had long been felt that a change in their administration was necessary. They needed special expert handling and treatment quite different from that obtaining in a settled province, and Lord Curzon was convinced that the only way in which they could secure it was by forming the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab into a separate Province. A Chief-Commissioner, responsible direct to the Government of India was appointed to control the province thus created.

Plague and famine.—

Bubonic plague continued to spread throughout the whole of Lord Curzon's administration despite all efforts at prevention, and in the year 1904 it is computed that it carried off upwards of a million people. Its subsequent decline has been very gradual. But the epidemic has had one good result, in that it has focussed much needed attention upon the subject of sanitation and led to great improvements in drainage and the housing of the people. Unfortunately plague was not the only calamity affecting the country, for Lord Curzon was called upon in the first year of his administration to meet an even worse famine than that which crippled the resources of India in his predecessor's time. But if the famine, which it was his misfortune to face, almost at the commencement of his term of office, was one of the severest known to history, it was also more skilfully and successfully combated than any previous one. Its extent and severity may be gathered from the fact that no less than six and a half million people were at one time in receipt of relief.

War with Thibet.—Lord Curzon, who displayed throughout his term of office a zeal for reform not



LORD CURZON.

exceeded by Lord Dalhousie himself, was not destined to escape altogether from the need of waging war. In 1904 the Dalai Lama of Thibet, the chief spiritual leader of the Thibetan Buddhists, who exercised temporal power as well, began to show unmistakable signs of hostility to the British and undue favour to the Russians. A mission which was sent under Sir Francis Younghusband to negotiate with him met with resistance, and an advance in force to Lhasa had then to be undertaken. Before Lhasa was reached, however, the Dalai Lama fled. In his absence a satisfactory settlement was negotiated with the leading men of the country, who proved not at all unfriendly, and the force then withdrew. The expedition had been rather costly, but the Thibetans offered so little real resistance that few lives were lost in marching through the wild and difficult country met with on the way. The march to Lhasa had proved that the Indian Government was not to be trifled with and the lesson is not likely soon to be forgotten by the Thibetans.

Reforms.—Lord Curzon's reforms touched all branches of the administration, and his own indomitable energy infused new life into every part of it. The fluctuation in the value of the rupee which had caused such grave anxiety during his predecessor's administration was effectually prevented by the simple device of making the British sovereign legal tender, creating a gold reserve and accepting fifteen rupees as the practical equivalent of the sovereign. By a Land Alienation Act an attempt was made to protect the simple Punjab cultivators from being dispossessed wholesale by the money-lenders; and agricultural or co-operative banks were instituted all over India to encourage self-help among the peasantry and to enable them to obtain loans at low rates of interest. In 1904 a new department was instituted for Commerce and Industry, and an extra membership of the Viceroy's Council created in order to give the head of the Department a seat thereon. No subject had for Lord Curzon a deeper interest than that of education. Throughout the whole of his administration it engrossed much of his attention. The machinery of the Departments of Education in the provinces was overhauled from top to bottom, large grants

were given for the improvement and extension of various forms of education and reforms were set on foot that should secure steady advance on the right lines. The Indian Universities Act of 1904, a measure which at the time met with considerable opposition in some quarters, is now generally recognised as having effected much needed improvements and as having made possible a general raising of the standard of attainment. Other measures were the improvement of agricultural education, the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments, and the establishment of a board of scientific advice. Strenuous efforts were also made to improve the morale of the police force and to render the service attractive to a better class of men ; and the efficiency of the native army was considerably increased by a reorganization of the Transport Service, the rearmament of the troops, and the strengthening of the artillery.

Death of Queen Victoria.—In January 1901 the Queen-Empress died. The event occasioned genuine manifestations of sorrow among all classes of her Indian subjects. Since the day of her first proclamation to them in 1858 she had never ceased to take the closest and most sympathetic interest in their welfare, and they repaid her care for them by cherishing a deep affection for her and by preserving the memory of her goodness by countless memorials throughout the length and breadth of the country. In 1903 Lord Curzon held a *Durbar* at Delhi of unparalleled magnificence to celebrate the coronation of her son, His Majesty King Edward VII. The *Durbar* was attended by more than a hundred ruling princes.

Partition of Bengal.—To mark appreciation of the great services which Lord Curzon had rendered India by his reforming zeal, at the end of his term of office in 1904 he was reappointed for a further term. The Province of Bengal had long been regarded as too unwieldy for proper administration, and it had for some time been recognised that subdivision was inevitable. Lord Curzon after anxious thought and much discussion decided to form a new Province by handing over the districts of Eastern Bengal to Assam and creating a Lieutenant-Governorship for Eastern-Bengal and Assam. The measure, which had

been decided upon purely on administration grounds, created a storm of opposition among the Bengali speaking peoples, who regarded the division of Bengal as a menace to their national solidarity. The feeling aroused by the measure created a great deal of unrest, and the echoes of the controversy reverberated throughout the whole of India.

Resignation of Lord Curzon and appointment of Lord Minto.—In the midst of the excitement aroused by the partition of Bengal Lord Curzon resigned and left the country. A difference between him and Lord Kitchener, regarding the relations between the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Department of the Government, seemed to Lord Curzon to be of vital importance, and, since the British Government sided with the Commander-in-Chief, he felt that he could not remain at his post. He was succeeded in 1905 by the Earl of Minto, a grandson of the former Governor-General of that name.

Lord Minto, 1905–1910.—Thoughtful observers had for some time been noting the growth in India of a new spirit. The educated middle-classes throughout the country were beginning to realize that Indians of whatever race, caste or creed had certain common aims and aspirations and to manifest dissatisfaction with a form of government in which, however just and beneficent it might be, they desired a larger share. The strenuous administration of Lord Curzon and the controversies aroused by certain of his measures of reform had had the effect of stimulating this new spirit into much greater activity. Moreover, the remarkable achievements of Japan in her war with Russia had greatly stirred men's minds and helped the growth in Asiatic countries of the idea of national unity of purpose. When Lord Minto assumed office a period of political unrest had set in. The task before him was one of extreme difficulty ; for unrest took many forms, from legitimate and moderate demands for a share in the government of the country to sedition and plots to subvert it. To allay discontent by concession without weakening the hold of British Rule in India was a formidable problem of statesmanship. But Lord Minto and Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, were determined at whatever hazard to

pursue a path of liberal reform. Both were much averse from repressive measures ; events, however, forced their hands. The agitation against the partition of Bengal did not die down so quickly as was expected, and the bitterness it had caused remained. Serious disorder broke out in some of the affected districts, and the anxiety of the government to avoid coercion was misunderstood. In the wake of disorder followed anarchical crime and organized dacoity for political purposes. These were symptoms so grave that they could not be overlooked ; moreover, the mischief was clearly spreading to other parts of India. It was necessary to strike quickly and at the same time to strengthen the hands of officials in dealing with incipient rebellion. The ringleaders were arrested suddenly and deported and an act, called the Seditious Meetings' Act, making prompt action possible to suppress disloyal agitation, was rapidly passed into law.

The display of firmness had the effect of checking the growth of rebellion, even if it did not succeed wholly in putting an end to disorder and anarchical outrage. But while the government had given signal proof that it would not shrink if need be, from resort to strong measures, it was not to be deterred by the need for them from pursuing a policy of liberal reform. It did not wait for the disappearance of all signs of political trouble, but boldly introduced constitutional changes of a momentous nature in the form of government. The Indian Councils' Act of 1909, by which title the measure embodying these changes is known, enlarged considerably the Local and Supreme Legislative Councils, giving in the case of the former a preponderance to non-official membership, while it introduced a system of popular election of a proportion of the members of both. Along with these changes it conceded greater freedom of discussion and criticism at council meetings. Executive Councils were at the same time enlarged and increased in number, and Indians were for the first time admitted to membership of them. Lord Morley, who was ever anxious to get into closer touch with Indian views and sentiments, even went a step further and reserved two places on his own council at the Indian Office for Indians.

Lord Minto's Viceroyalty will be famous chiefly for this

courageous step forward in the direction of popular government. In importance it overshadowed all other events of his somewhat troubled rule. In the early part of it His Majesty, the Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan, was sumptuously entertained at a Durbar in Agra, and the exchange of views which then took place improved relations between the two governments upon the frontier. Later a small frontier war was undertaken to punish a tribe, called the Zakka Khel, for depredations in British India, and quickly brought to a successful conclusion. In May 1910 His Majesty King Edward VII. died, and the spontaneous manifestations among all classes in India of sorrow at his loss and loyalty to the British Throne, which his death and the succession of his son, King George V., called forth, were clear proof of the better feeling which the recent political reforms had engendered. In November of the same year Lord Minto retired and was succeeded by Lord Hardinge.

Lord Hardinge, 1910.—The Viceregency of Lord Hardinge will be ever memorable for the occurrence during it of an event unprecedented in the annals of India and of the British Empire. Their Imperial Majesties, King George V. and Queen May, left the centre of the Empire to announce in person their coronation to their Indian subjects. On December 12th, 1911, at Delhi His Majesty, wearing his Imperial Crown, was proclaimed King Emperor of India, amidst a scene of unexampled splendour, and there received the homage and allegiance of the Ruling Chiefs of India. At the conclusion of the ceremony His Majesty announced the transfer of the seat of the government of India from Calcutta to the ancient capital of Delhi, the re-union of Bengal under a Governor in Council and the creation of a new Province of Behar, Chota-Nagpur and Orissa under a Lieutenant Governor and Council. The Durbar and the ceremonies attending it brought home to the Indian people vividly the fact that His Majesty is the reigning Emperor of India, and his own gracious words have assured them of his sympathy for and trust in them and of his earnest concern for their welfare, peace and contentment.

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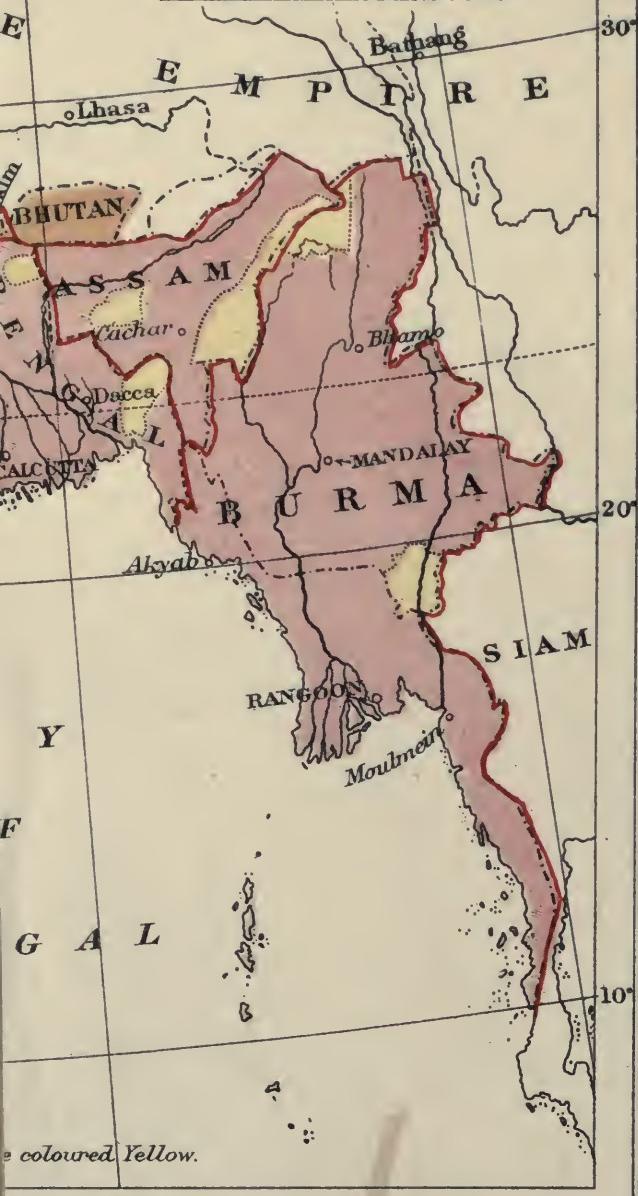
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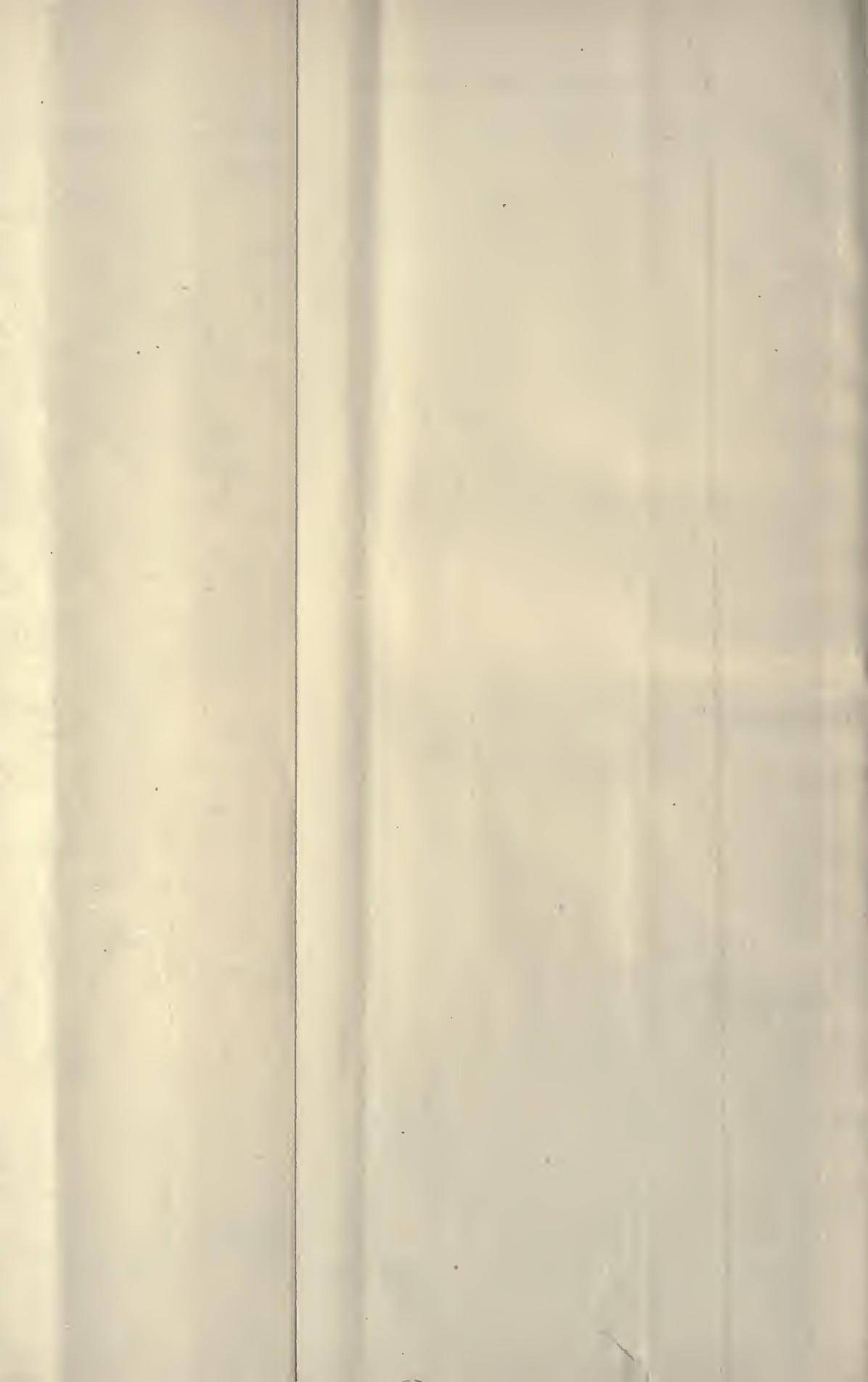
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